

Imperialist troops out of Mideast!

Working people should protest Washington's stepped-up threats against Syria, as well as the moves to impose a U.S.-run occupation regime on the backs

EDITORIAL

of the Iraqi people.

In the wake of the Anglo-American military victory in Iraq, U.S. officials are now threatening Syria with economic and other sanctions, along with veiled threats of military attack. The pretext for this campaign

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Chicago janitors mobilize, gain in contract

BY LISA POTASH AND REBECCA WILSON

CHICAGO—After mobilizing in a number of street rallies in recent weeks to press their demands, area janitors on April 6 ratified a pair of three-year contracts covering nearly 10,000 workers. The agreements registered small wage and benefit gains for these Service Employees International Union (SEIU) members and a slight narrowing of the wage gap between city and suburban janitors.

Some 5,000 janitors who work in downtown Chicago ratified their union contract with the Building Owners and Managers Association. About 4,500 janitors who work in Chicago's suburbs approved their

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N. Carolina: Calero wins support for fight against deportation

BY WILLIE COTTON

KANNAPOLIS, North Carolina—Róger Calero spoke to dozens of high school and college students, unionists, and others in North Carolina about his fight against deportation.

Calero made his way to Charlotte, North Carolina, via a bus returning from the national peace protest in Washington, March 15. While on this bus, Róger Calero addressed the 40 riders, explaining his case and inviting them to participate in the coming meetings. Melissa Winchester from Rock Hill, South Carolina, accepted the invitation and drove up the next day to help set up for and participate in a program on Calero's fight.

Winchester, 22, said, "I support his struggle and I think it is a horrible thing. I

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U.S. forces consolidate occupation of Iraq

Washington targets Syria with chemical arms charge

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

As the Anglo-American invasion force consolidates its occupation of Iraq, the White House has stepped up its threats against neighboring Syria. It is accusing the Syrian government of possessing chemical weapons, one of the main pretexts Washington used to launch the imperialist assault on Iraq.

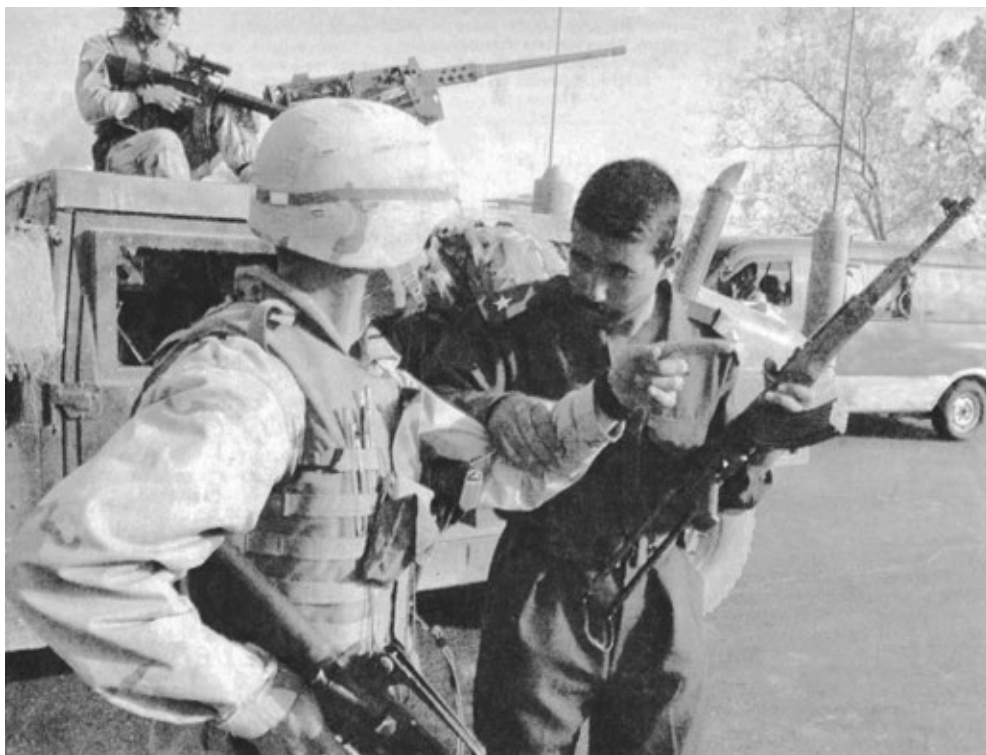
Meanwhile, Washington is taking steps to set up a U.S.-run regime in occupied Iraq. On April 14, the Pentagon announced it had completed its major war operations there, after U.S. forces overran Tikrit, home town of the overthrown president Saddam Hussein.

Washington has faced some initial protests, however, against the establishment of a military occupation regime. On April 15, U.S. troops fired on a crowd protesting a U.S.-imposed governor in Mosul, killing at least 10 people. The same day, 20,000 Iraqis rallied in Nasiriya against a U.S.-sponsored conference on setting up a new government.

In this conflict, driven by the competition between the major imperialist powers over control of the Middle East and its resources, Paris and Berlin have been dealt the biggest blows by the U.S.-British takeover of Iraq. They are clamoring for a "UN role" in running the Iraqi protectorate in order to assure themselves some influence over the division of the oil wealth in the region.

Since taking control of Iraq, Wash-

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U.S. troops have begun patrolling Iraqi capital with cops from former regime. U.S. Marine (above) argues with Iraqi policeman during a joint patrol in east Baghdad, April 14.

As we go to press...

About 4,000 International Association of Machinists members walked out April 14 against Lockheed Martin Corp. at its plant in Fort Worth, Texas, where fighter jets are produced. In a year of record profits for Lockheed, the union is demanding higher wages and improved benefits. Workers approved the strike with a vote of 2,380 to 432.

Cuban authorities arrest, convict 85 in response to U.S.-planned provocations



Cuban troops guard Cubana airliner, hijacked April 1 after taking off from Isle of Youth. The craft was allowed to refuel in Havana before leaving for Key West, Florida.

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Since March, the Cuban government has arrested 75 individuals and charged them with receiving funds from Washington and collaborating with U.S. diplomatic personnel stationed in Havana to subvert the Cuban Revolution. Cuban authorities put the accused on trial April 4-7. The courts handed down sentences ranging from 6 to 28 years in jail.

At least half of the accused were con-

victed of "working with a foreign power to undermine the government." All 75 were prosecuted under Cuba's 1977 Law of Criminal Procedure.

On April 8, in the wake of a string of hijackings of planes and boats, a Cuban court found another 10 people guilty of having hijacked a ferry six days earlier, using handguns and knives, in a failed attempt to reach Florida. The hijackers had been charged with "very grave acts of terrorism,"

and three men among them were given the death penalty and were executed April 11, after the country's Supreme Court and Council of State upheld the death sentences. Another four men among this group were given life in prison, while three women were handed one- to five-year terms.

Washington has recently deepened its open collaboration with opponents of the Cuban Revolution inside the Caribbean nation and has organized provocations that are behind the incidents that led to these

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Ex-police chief in Mexico is indicted for murders of student activists in 1970s

BY BARRY FATLAND

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—Federal prosecutors in Mexico City have charged Luis de la Barreda Moreno, a former police chief, with the torture and murder of three young revolutionaries during the 1970s. De la Barreda was head of the Federal Security Directorate, a secret police agency, from 1970 until 1977.

He is the first official of the agency to face a murder charge.

The case occurs amid growing exposures of the dirty war conducted by the Mexican government against the student and workers movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

One of the three students the former police chief is accused of torturing and murdering is Jesús Piedra Ibarra. At the time of his death Piedra was a third-year medical student at the University of Nuevo Leon in Monterrey.

Along with other revolutionary-minded students, he was framed for the killing of a university librarian in 1974.

Among the framed-up students was Héctor Marroquín. To save his life Marroquín fled to the United States, where he waged a long struggle for political asylum and residency. Marroquín and his supporters pointed to Piedra's murder as proof of the dangers he faced in Mexico. Up until de la Barreda's indictment in March the Mexican authorities had repeatedly denied that the cops had anything to do with Piedra's death.

Piedra, Marroquín, and many more like them had been active in the rising student protest movement of the 1970s. This development continued and built on the international youth radicalization of the previous decade. At that time, millions of youth around the world, spurred by the victories of the civil rights movement in the United States, began taking the lead in organizing protests against the U.S. imperialist assault on Vietnam and on other questions.

1968 was a signal year for this movement. In France student protesters were

joined at the barricades by workers who had mobilized in a millions-strong general strike. Mexico was another country where students and workers mobilized in the face of fierce police repression. In October 1968, government security forces killed some 500 student protesters in Mexico City.

The student protests of the 1970s continued to face violence from cops and right-wing thugs. During a 1971 demonstration in Mexico City, a paramilitary organization known as the *Halcones* (Falcons)—linked to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)—attacked the students, beating and killing more than 100.

Such repression did not deter Piedra and many others from continuing their political activity.

Framed-up in death of librarian

In January 1974, a university librarian was killed. Monterrey police claimed the September 23 Communist League was responsible. Piedra was accused of being a member.

The league had grown out of the student movement, and had adopted guerrilla tactics. Its cadres had kidnapped and killed a prominent member of the Garza Sada family of the Grupo Monterrey, a major financial power in the state of Nuevo León.

In the witch-hunt mounted after the librarian's death, the cops published a wanted poster with portraits of Piedra, Marroquín, and three others.

On April 18, 1975, Piedra was kidnapped by cops as he walked down Zaragosa Street in Monterrey.

Although two of Monterrey's daily newspapers reported details of Piedra's arrest, the cops officially denied any knowledge of his whereabouts.

His family's repeated attempts to locate him were fruitless. Rosario Ibarra, Piedra's mother, met with former Mexican president Luis Echeverría on 39 occasions in her quest.

Having failed to gain the government's assistance, Rosario Ibarra helped found the

National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners and the Politically Persecuted, Exiled and Disappeared. Made up of relatives of the victims of government repression, this committee, formed in 1977, won the active support of many trade unions, student and peasant organizations, and the main opposition political parties.

The committee aimed to force successive administrations in Mexico City to free the political prisoners and present the disappeared alive. Its activities included a multitude of teach-ins, hunger strikes, press conferences, and marches. On Oct. 2, 1978—the tenth anniversary of the massacre of the student protesters—the committee organized a rally of 100,000 people in Mexico City.

As the police continued their “investigation” of the librarian's killing, Marroquín fled to the United States. There he became active in the trade union movement and social protests. After several years, he was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possessing false papers. At the time, he was part of a union organizing drive at a Coca Cola factory in which he worked. He had joined the Socialist Workers Party shortly before his arrest.

Marroquín fights for political asylum

Marroquín's fight for political asylum became widely known throughout the United States and Mexico. The campaign became a vehicle for building solidarity with the broadening opposition to factory raids and the deportations of hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers.

Marroquín's lawyers found that Washington had spied on him since his days as a high school activist in Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico.

Among those who spoke up in Marroquín's support and pointed out his likely fate if he were to return was Rosario Ibarra. She appeared at several press conferences in the United States in support of the asylum request.

Of the five men who had been accused of the murder, she said, only Marroquín was known to still be alive. Two others had been



Corbis

Student demonstrators march to the presidential palace in Mexico City, Aug. 13, 1968, to demand the resignation of the police chief—one of a month-long series of protests. In October of that year the cops opened fire on a rally, killing hundreds of students. Protests continued through the 1970s.

gunned down, she reported—one while leafleting in front of a Monterrey area factory, and the second in a confrontation with armed cops. The fate of her jailed son Piedra was unknown, she said.

In April 1979 Rosario Ibarra and Delia Duarte, another leader of the Mexican Committee, went to Houston to testify on Marroquín's behalf. They brought written testimony from political prisoners who had been held in the Garza Sada killing. Each said that Marroquín had nothing to do with the September 23 Communist League.

Despite this and other evidence, the judge at the asylum hearing ordered Marroquín deported.

The prosecutor had even argued that Marroquín should be deported because he “has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist. The U.S. does not grant asylum to those kinds of people.”

Marroquín continued his fight on appeal and was one of the first to be granted amnesty in the 1986 INS amnesty program. He went on to gain permanent residency.

Piedra's sister, Maria del Rosario, commented on de la Barreda's arrest in an April 2 phone interview with the *Militant* from her home in Monterrey. Her brother Jesús “was not the only” victim of police assassination, she said. “There were many.”

Barry Fatland is a sewing machine operator in Columbia Heights, Minnesota, and was the first national coordinator of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

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Washington is no. 1 jailer in the world

BY SAM MANUEL

The “Land of the Free” has become the world’s largest jailer, with 2 million people behind bars. The United States has the world’s highest incarceration rate at 702 prisoners per 100,000 people. That is, one out of every 142 U.S. residents is in jail. The figures were released in the April report of the Bureau of Justice Statistics. It covers the latest 12-month period, which ended June 30, 2002.

If those on probation and parole are added, the figure climbs to nearly 6.5 million, or one in every 32 adults, according to a report from the same bureau, titled “Probation and Parole,” which was released last September.

Just over 7,000 of those held in adult prisons are under 18 years old. And more than 88,000 of those incarcerated are citizens of other countries.

According to the report, an estimated 12 percent of Black males in their twenties and early thirties are in jail. That compares with 1.6 percent for white males in the same age group, and 4 percent of Latinos.

The rate of imprisonment in the United States is more than seven times higher than that of a number of other imperialist countries. In Germany, Italy, and Denmark, for example, fewer than 100 of 100,000 residents are in jail. The U.S. incarceration rate has risen steadily at an average of nearly 4 percent since 1995.

Most of this explosion in the prison population occurred during the eight years of the Democratic administration of President William Clinton. With bipartisan support in Congress, Clinton signed legislation expanding mandatory prison sentences and increasing their length. Clinton also reduced protections against arbitrary search and seizure by the cops and courts, and financed a record increase in the number of police on the streets. The policies of President George Bush have followed in

the direction set by Clinton. The U.S. rulers have accelerated their “get tough on crime” campaign over the last decade as part of a broader offensive against workers’ rights and civil liberties.

Following the lead of the federal government, many states instituted various “three-strike” rules, which require judges to impose the maximum sentence on the accused if he or she has two previous felony convictions.

Another measure that has helped swell the number of inmates is the wider use of “mandatory sentencing,” imposing a set number of years for various offenses, regardless of the circumstances.

In March of this year, the Supreme Court

California paper covers antideportation fight

Below are excerpts from the article, ‘A Nicaraguan challenges the ’96 Immigration laws; thousands of people are being deported for minor offenses they committed in the past.’ It appeared in the February 2003 issue of *Centro-América Weekly*, a Los Angeles-based Spanish-language monthly.

On December 3, Róger Calero, a Nicaraguan journalist, and associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, who has been a permanent resident for 12 years, was returning home from covering the International Conference of Students in Guadalajara, Mexico, and other assignments in Cuba, when he was arrested by agents of the Immigration Service at the Houston airport. The reason was a minor offense that he had committed in 1988, when he attempted at his school to sell an ounce of marijuana to an undercover agent....

Supported by several immigrant rights organizations, Róger Calero has initiated a national campaign to challenge the laws with which he is being judged anew, and



upheld California’s “three-strike” law, rejecting appeals by men sentenced to 50 years and 25 years for petty theft. Two prisoners had challenged the constitutionality of the 1994 legislation. One was Leandro Andrade, who had been sentenced to 50 years without parole for stealing children’s videotapes. The other was Gary Ewing,

who got 25 years for taking some golf clubs.

Lawyers for the two men argued that their convictions violated the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which bars “cruel and unusual punishment.” They both lost in 5-4 rulings by the Supreme Court justices.

prevent his deportation and that of thousands of other immigrants.

After drastic changes from the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, and Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibilities Act, passed by the Clinton administration in 1996, there have been record numbers of detentions of immigrants. These laws basically established new conditions for the detention of certain categories of immigrants, including permanent residents, undocumented immigrants, or those with asylum.

For cases like Calero’s, previously the charges for which one would have to pay with deportation were limited to major crimes such as murder and rape. After the reforms made in the laws, any charge that carries a sentence of more than one year, like theft, fraud, or repeated driving under the influence of alcohol, mandate deportation.

Without taking into account that these laws are retroactive, legislators from the Department of Justice broadened the list

of charges for which an immigrant, resident or without papers, could be deported, independent of whether the violation had been committed much before or after 1996.

Human Rights Watch stated in a 1998 report that the number of people detained by the INS had grown 80 percent in comparison to the figures for the three previous years.

This same organization states that the jails and detention centers have problems accommodating the always growing number of detainees, and that access to legal representation and judicial review is very limited. “When you enter the jail you realize that these are the same people you worked with in the factories, in the garment shops, they are workers, many of them are held for months, facing the threat of deportation.”

For more information or to send a contribution:

Róger Calero Defense Committee, c/o PRDF, Box 761, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10007; phone/fax, (212)563-0585. On the web: www.calerodefense.org

Send messages demanding exclusion moves against Calero be dropped to: Demetrios Georgakopolous, Director, Bureau of Customs and Immigration Enforcement. Fax messages to: (973) 645-3074; or mail to: 970 Broad St., Newark, NJ 07102. Copies should be sent to the Róger Calero Defense Committee.

Calero wins new backing in N. Carolina

Continued from front page didn’t know these kinds of things were going on. But lately I have been moved to play a part” in fights like these.

Twenty people attended the March 16th meeting at the Better Life Center to hear Calero speak on the fight against the immigration cops’ efforts to exclude him from the United States. Several of those in attendance work at Pillowtex, a textile mill where 40 workers have signed petitions backing Calero’s fight to remain in this country.

Calero’s visit here, part of a nationwide tour, helped build solidarity for the campaign to stop the INS from deporting him to his native Nicaragua.

Calero, 34, is an associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language monthly published in New York, and a *Militant* staff writer. On December 3 he was returning home to the United States from reporting trips to Cuba and Mexico. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents seized Calero at Houston Intercontinental Airport, told him he was denied entry to the United States, and carted him off to an immigration jail. He was later released after scores of people poured messages of protest in to the INS office in Texas. He now faces exclusion from this country.

Immigration officials began deportation proceedings against him based on a 1988 plea-bargain conviction, when he was a high school student in Los Angeles, for selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop. The INS waived this conviction in granting him permanent residency in 1990, and then in renewing it in 2000.

Calero told the meeting that the INS’s attempt to deport him is part of stepped-up attack on immigrants’ rights and a broader assault on workers’ rights. “The government’s intention,” he explained, “is to instill fear in immigrant workers.” These attacks are aimed at keeping us “intimidated, unorganized, and isolated from our brothers and sisters. These are weapons to reinforce the bosses offensive against the

working and living conditions of all working people.”

Calero also spoke of a case reported by Human Rights Watch in 1998 where detainees at the Union County jail in Elizabeth, New Jersey, were beaten, stripped, and made to crawl through a gauntlet of guards while chanting “America is ‘number one.’” Calero said, “You will hear this same chauvinistic call to justify the U.S. slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants in Iraq, and the wars to come.”

Jabril Hough, an activist in the Charlotte Muslim community, linked Calero’s fight to that of other immigrant workers. “After September 11,” and the government attacks on Middle Eastern and Southeast Asians in the United States, said Hough, “many Muslim immigrants realized they were living an American nightmare.” He invited everyone to participate in a demonstration outside the INS office in Charlotte to protest the forced registration of immigrants from countries in the Mideast and Southeast Asia.

Nick Wood, an organizer for FLOC, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, spoke on the fight by migrant farm workers against the Mt. Olive Pickle Company. He described the atrocious working conditions, including lack of drinking water, inadequate medical attention, and decrepit housing. Wood stated that Calero’s deportation and the conditions facing migrant workers is a part of a “corrupt imperialist system that seeks to drive wages down.” He announced a protest and march in Mt. Olive, North Carolina, for April 13th to demand that the company negotiate a contract with farm workers, and that farmers improve the conditions in the fields.

Ahmad Daniels, a well-known activist in the Black community in the Charlotte area, sent greetings to the event. Daniels had been forced to resign from his job as Mecklenburg County Minority Affairs director for statements he made after September 11.

Calero also spoke to a class of 20 Concord High School students. A teacher in-

vited him to make a presentation after learning of his case and his trip to the area from a student, Mike Ellis, a member of the Young Socialists.

Two students that heard Calero’s talk at the high school went to the University of North Carolina in Charlotte (UNCC) after school to hear him speak at a meeting co-sponsored by The Feminist Union. Six students and several supporters of the antideportation fight participated in this informal discussion.

Abortion rates up for women workers, down for the wealthy

BY PETER THIERJUNG

“Changes in welfare policy such as rules requiring welfare recipients to seek employment,” may have been a factor in an increase in abortions for working-class women, particularly those who are Black or Latina and most often those who are single heads of households. This is what statistics released by The Alan Guttmacher Institute, an organization which does reproductive health research and policy analysis, indicate.

Between 1994 and 2000, abortion rates for working-class women rose, while rates for wealthier women declined. Women who are Black are more than three times as likely as women who are white to have an abortion, and women who are Hispanic are two-and-a-half times as likely, the institute reported.

At the same time, implementation of the Clinton administration’s policy of “ending welfare as we know it,” resulted in a decline in the proportion of women of reproductive age covered by Medicaid. The proportion of women with no insurance at all increased. The result is that working-class women who are poor are often shouldering the full costs of abortions. This medical procedure on average costs \$372. It can

go as high as \$4,000.

The Guttmacher Institute says that women, on average, give three reasons for choosing abortion. Seventy-five percent said that having a baby would interfere with work, school, or other responsibilities; 66 percent cited their inability to afford a child; and 50 percent said they did not want to be a single parent.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the percentage of women in the work force continued to rise by the end of the last decade. In 2000, about 60 percent of all women were working, compared to 75 percent of all men. Nearly three-quarters of women with children are working outside the home. Since 1975, there has been a more than 25 percent increase in the number of women with children under three years old who are employed.

The percentage of income derived from wages for single women heading up households went from 41 percent in 1979 to 73 percent in 2000.

Economic reports now show that with recession conditions since 2000, women have been among those hardest hit by rising unemployment rates. More than twice as many women have experienced layoffs than in the recession of the early 1990s.

Occupation of Iraq deepens imperialist rift

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

With U.S. and British forces consolidating their military victory in Iraq, the governments of France and Germany are trying to assert their claims to be part of the occupation of the country and the exploitation of its wealth. Paris and Berlin's call for a central role for the United Nations in the construction of a new regime, and Washington's dismissal of that demand, are indications that interimperialist tensions continue to fester and sharpen.

The "transatlantic" rift is one manifestation of the growing conflicts among the imperialist powers. Other such divisions are increasingly evident among the major powers within the European Union, including between Paris and London.

French prime minister Jacques Chirac and German chancellor Gerhard Schröder reiterated their position at an April 11 meeting in St. Petersburg with Russian president Vladimir Putin. "You have to respect the UN charter in all situations," said Schröder.

"We are no longer in an era where one or two countries can control the fate of another county," Chirac said before the meeting, in a dig at Washington and London. "The political, economic, humanitarian, and administrative reconstruction of Iraq is a matter for the United Nations, and for it alone."

French representatives have threatened to use their veto in the UN Security Council to maintain sanctions on Iraq, saying that such a step will stymie U.S. plans to reap the income from sales of the country's oil, reported the April 11 *Wall Street Journal*. Paris will maintain such a stance "until Washington affords them a larger role," added the paper.

Whatever the immediate outcome of this dispute, Washington is sitting pretty to implement a key goal of its offensive: re-imposing the dollar as the currency for all oil-related transactions in Iraq. Baghdad's 1999 switch to the euro made it the only major oil-producing government to have broken from a 1971 OPEC agreement to conduct all trade in U.S. dollars.

At an April 8 meeting in Northern Ireland, U.S. president George Bush and British prime minister Anthony Blair made it clear that their rivals would not elbow their way into a share of the occupation's spoils. The UN would have the "vital role" of supporting the U.S.-installed "interim authority" in Iraq, they said, that is, largely distributing some medicine, food, and water. It could also "serve as a conduit for international contributions," the *Journal* reported.

Backed by Berlin, Paris had previously led criticism in the Security Council to the U.S.-led drive for war. After Washington launched the air attacks and ground invasion, however, both the French and German governments did an about-face, de-

— CALENDAR —

ILLINOIS Chicago

The Conquest of Iraq and Washington's Trade Push into Africa. A benefit for the Militant Fund. Speaker: Sam Manuel, Washington D.C. Bureau of the *Militant*. Sun., April 27. Program 2:00 p.m., dinner 4:00 p.m. 2901 West 59th (two blocks west of California). (773) 737-1190.

TEXAS Houston

The Working-class Response to Imperialism's March Toward World War and Depression. Fund-raising event for the *Militant* Fund. Speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sun 27. Reception 4:00 p.m., program 5:00 p.m. 619 West 8th St. (713) 869-6550.

**Solidarity Rally
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French cavalry detachment in Evzon, Greece, on their way to Macedonia, formerly part of Yugoslavia, 1999. The unfolding occupation of Iraq has shown the European Union to be anything but unified—with Paris, Berlin, and Brussels leading the “anti-American” bloc. A short list of countries proposed by the Belgian government to form the core of an EU military force conspicuously left London out of it.

claring support for the brutal assault. “We hope through the defeat of the dictatorship, the Iraqi people can realize its hope of a life in peace, freedom, and self-determination,” said Schröder.

Chirac remained silent for almost 24 hours after the fall of Baghdad to U.S. forces. He then stated that he welcomed the fall of “the dictator Saddam Hussein.”

Both before and during Iraq's occupation, Paris has fought to defend the lucrative investment and trade deals built up between French capitalists and the Saddam Hussein regime. French-based companies signed almost 800 contracts for parts and equipment for the Iraqi oil industry—second only to Moscow. The French-dominated oil company, TotalFinaElf, negotiated oil deals that would give it control over 25 percent of Iraq's massive oil reserves.

These agreements were built on the close relations between Paris and Baghdad going back decades. But they were largely signed under the UN-imposed regime of weapons inspections and economic sanctions of the past 12 years. The sanctions were reconfigured as the “oil for food” program in the mid-1990s.

While the U.S. government has made no statement about the fate of these deals, it has cast doubt on whether the new regime should be held responsible for massive debts imposed by the capitalists and governments of France, Germany, and Russia. U.S. deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz told a Senate committee April 10 that these three governments “ought to consider whether it might not be appropriate” to forgive some or all of the debt Baghdad owes them.

Iraq is estimated to owe between \$8 and \$12 billion each to France and Russia, and a little more than half that amount to Germany. Its total debt is estimated at more than \$100 billion. Together with war reparations imposed by Washington following the Arab-Persian Gulf War—which are included in the \$40 billion Baghdad owes to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—the country's total indebtedness stands at around 400 percent of its gross domestic product.

The loans became a bone of contention at the April 12–13 meeting of the Group of Seven imperialist countries, also attended by Moscow. Following the meeting, the Russian finance minister, Alexei Kudrin, said, “no one has forgiven Russia's debt,

— MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

NEW JERSEY Newark

U.S. Provocations against Cuba: Behind the Growing Tensions Speaker: Róger Calero, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., April 18. 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave. 2nd floor (at Clifton). Donation: \$5 (973) 481-0077.

NEW ZEALAND Christchurch

Solidarity with Kinleith Strikers Fri., April 25. 7:00 p.m. Gloucester Arcade, (near Theater Royal), 129 Gloucester St. (03) 365-6055.

regardless of what kind of regime it was and regardless of the country's clout.” His statement contradicted an earlier comment by Putin that Wolfowitz's proposal was “understandable and legitimate.”

The president of Germany's central bank, Ernst Welteke, also dismissed the proposal. Only “very poor countries” should have their debt canceled, he said.

Oil contracts signed with the Saddam Hussein regime threaten to be an even more explosive issue. Officials of Lukoil, Russia's biggest oil company, said they would “fiercely defend” a deal with Baghdad giving them rights to Baghdad's giant West Qurna oil field, according to the April 9 *Wall Street Journal*. “If a new Iraqi government tries to declare the contract invalid,” continued the *Journal* article, Lukoil will take legal action “to impound tankers carrying Iraqi crude.”

Since the 1991 U.S.-led assault on Iraq, trade disputes have proliferated among the major trading powers of North America and Western Europe, as well as Japan.

Such disputes are now sharpening. The United States and a number of European Union governments had laid some 50 legal complaints of unfair trading practices during the 35 years between 1960 and 1995. More recently, the pace has quickened. In the six years between 1995 and 2001, officials of the World Trade Organization have been confronted with 32 such complaints.

The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq is likely to exacerbate such conflicts, said the *Financial Times*. Frederick Bergsten, the director of the Institute for International Economics, told the paper that the G-7 representatives “will try to keep the security dispute from poisoning the economic area, but it could spill over and make it worse.”

Interimperialist conflicts in Europe

Conflicts among the imperialist powers in Europe have also deepened during the war in the Mideast. In particular, the governments of France and the United Kingdom have increasingly been at loggerheads.

By throwing their weight behind Washington's course toward war, the British rulers dealt a blow to Paris's pretensions to speak for a “united Europe.” London became the most vocal proponent of “unity” between imperialist Europe and the United States—a calculated rebuff to Paris and Berlin.

The European Union was shown to be anything but unified, as a number of governments—from Spain to Portugal and Italy (Europe's fourth largest power) as well as the Netherlands—identified their own interests with those of the U.S. and British rulers drive to war. Of these imperialist powers, however, only the Dutch rulers sent troops to join the U.S.-British assault.

“The center of gravity [in NATO] is shifting to the east,” crowed U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld in response to these developments. He referred to Paris, Berlin, and Brussels contemptuously as representing “old Europe,” in contrast to the London-led “new Europe.”

After dire predictions in the big-business media of his possible downfall, Blair lined up a huge majority of the British parliament behind his call to arms during a March 18 vote. His policy has been consistent with the increasingly heavy reliance

by the British rulers on their “special relationship” with Washington to maintain their place as a junior imperialist power.

That relationship dates back to the period shortly following World War II, and President Harry Truman's 1947 initiation of the Cold War—a systematic and decades-long effort to exert economic and military pressure on the workers states of the Soviet Union, Eastern and Central Europe, and China, in preparation for their military overthrow.

In the leadup to the Cold War, British prime minister Winston Churchill called for a “special relationship” between London and Washington that would form the core of an imperialist military alliance in Europe to contain any extension of the revolutionary overturn of capitalist property relations. The British prime minister also called for Washington and London to maintain a monopoly on atomic weapons.

In 1944 Churchill told Charles de Gaulle, the leader of the bourgeois opposition to the Nazi occupation of France, “If I have to choose between Europe and the open sea, between you and Roosevelt, I will always choose America.”

Seesawing debates over Europe

The latest reinforcement of this relationship follows decades of seesawing debates among British capitalist politicians over how to relate to the formation of a German- and French-dominated European Union.

When the governments of France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands established the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, London stayed aloof. It finally joined in 1973, over de Gaulle's objections, after failing to construct a competing body.

Having joined the European Union, the British rulers have refused to dissolve their currency, the British pound, into the euro, which is built around the combined power of the former French franc and German mark. In doing so, London has refused to relinquish the advantages of wielding its own currency to defend its distinct imperialist interests, rather than playing second or third fiddle behind Berlin and/or Paris.

Within the EU, the French and British governments have often been at loggerheads over many issues—from “illegal” immigration to agricultural policy. Following an EU meeting in Brussels last October, Blair let it be known that he was “livid” that Chirac and German chancellor Gerhard Schröder had “pre-cooked” a deal that would maintain substantial farm subsidies, which London wants to sharply reduce. Agricultural production in Britain is quite low compared to that of both France and Germany, with London relying much more heavily on food imports. Chirac responded by postponing a year-end meeting with Blair.

London was conspicuously absent from the short list of countries proposed by the Belgian government to form the core of an EU military force. European Commission president Romano Prodi endorsed the proposal March 26.

“The deep division caused by the Iraqi crisis has provoked... debate in EU capitals about how the union will function,” if nine new prospective members from Eastern Europe and Malta are accepted as full members, said The *Financial Times*. The London daily noted that Paris “in particular has been alarmed by the pro-U.S. stance of many of the 10 candidate countries.”

From Pathfinder

Europe and America

TWO SPEECHES ON IMPERIALISM

Leon Trotsky

In two speeches in the mid-1920s, Trotsky explains why the emergence of the United States as the dominant imperialist power is the decisive factor in world politics. He describes the sharpening conflicts between Washington and its European rivals and highlights the revolutionary prospects for the workers of the world. **\$6.00**



Workers in Midwest set pace in drive to win new readers

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

“By discussing politics with participants at protest actions and meetings, we are off to an excellent start in the subscription campaign,” reported Edwin Fruit from Des Moines April 13. Campaigners in Iowa’s capital have sold a total of 12 subscriptions to the *Militant*, he said, along with one to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and a copy of the *New International* featuring the article “The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s assault on Iraq.”

The efforts of *Militant* supporters in Des Moines have put them on top of the chart this week—the first in the eight-week international subscription drive that began April 5, and will run through June 1.

“At a regional conference of the National Lawyers Guild held at Drake University April 11–12, four people signed up for the \$10 introductory subscription to the *Militant*,” Fruit said. “The theme of the conference was the war at home and the war abroad, and one of the featured speakers was Róger Calero, the *Perspectiva Mundial* editor who is fighting the government’s attempts to deport him.”

Supporters have sold subscriptions and books to par-

ticipants in the weekly Militant Labor Forum, and off literature tables at an April 5 antiwar rally, in a workers district in Des Moines, and at a college campus, Fruit said.

Supporters elsewhere in the Midwest have set the pace in the effort to win new long-term readers among meatpacking workers. In Cleveland and the Twin Cities, meat packers have bought a total of five *Militant* and four *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions. A worker in a Cleveland plant also bought one of the books featured in the campaign.

These include several issues of *New International* and *Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, by Jack Barnes (see ad on page 15).

Through consistent work and follow-up, meat packers in Atlanta sold a *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription to a poultry worker in Gainesville, Georgia. “A while back he checked out our literature table on a trip to north Atlanta,” reported Arlene Rubinstein. “Then he attended the public meeting here addressed by Róger Calero. This week he bought the subscription when we traveled to Gainesville on a regional trip.”

Hunger for explanations

Rubinstein and another socialist worker at an Atlanta meatpacking plant have stepped up their *Militant* sales on the job. One new buyer is “a young man from Somalia who is very interested



Above, April 12 Washington, DC, rally against the U.S.-led war and occupation of Iraq. Inset, Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party literature table at action.

Militant/Sam Manuel

in the paper’s explanations about political events,” she said.

Sara Lobman from Newark, New Jersey, encountered a similar hunger for political explanations from a protester at the April 12 antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. (see article on page 14.) As he subscribed, “He told us that he had felt unable to thoroughly explain what was behind the war,” Lobman said.

Campaigners need to set a steady pace throughout the drive’s two months. The weekly rhythm of sales at factory gates, in working-class districts, and on college campuses, will be punctuated with literature tables at political events—along with special efforts to sell to soldiers, and to working people in areas where there is no regular distributor for the revolutionary press.

Local organizers are also reminded that to be included in the weekly chart, subscriptions and book sales reports must arrive into the *Militant* office by 8 a.m. EST each Monday. We encourage you to send reports and photographs of sales teams at work.

‘Militant’ supporters plan fundraisers

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Stepped-up efforts are needed now to close the gap, which has widened since last week, between contributions for the Militant Fund and the funds needed to be on schedule. The Militant Fund is now into the fifth week of a nine-week drive ending May 12.

As the chart shows, pledges now exceed the international goal of 85,000.

Militant supporters in several local areas are building fund-raising events in the next couple of weeks. Nan Bailey, an SWP leader in Los Angeles, will be the featured speaker at an April 27 fund-raiser in Houston. In Chicago, *Militant* staff writer Sam Manuel will be speaking at a program the same day on the subject of “The Conquest of Iraq and Washington’s trade push into Africa.”

Manuel will also be speaking the following week in Washington, D.C., at a May 3 event which, in addition to raising funds for the international effort, will launch the new Washington reporting bureau. *Militant* editor Argiris Malapanis will be one of the speakers at the event. Manuel will be based full time in the U.S. capital by early May.

In Seattle, socialist workers and others are gearing up for a similar fundraiser April 19. Ma’mud Shirvani, Farsi-language editor of Pathfinder Press, will speak at this event. Expecting a larger crowd than can fit in the Seattle Pathfinder Bookstore, where the weekly Militant Labor Forum series is held, they have secured a room at a nearby community center.

“We passed out 200 leaflets building the meeting at an antiwar rally in Seattle on April 12,” said David Ferguson, a supporter of the fund in Seattle. “We met quite a few people who were interested in the event, including a young student from Korea who said he was looking for a group with a socialist perspective. We are planning special teams on the campuses leading up to the meeting as well.”

Shirvani spoke April 13 to about 25 people at a fundraiser in the Boston Pathfinder Bookstore. The meeting, which was followed by a dinner, gave a boost to the local effort, raising \$1,020 for the fund.

Contributions to the fund can be sent to the *Militant*, 152 W. 36th St., Suite 401, New York, NY 10018. Checks should be earmarked for the Militant Fund.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 5–June 1: Week 1 of 8							
Country	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
CANADA							
Vancouver	35	10	29%	5	0	15	2
Toronto	35	4	11%	5	0	25	0
Montreal	12	0	0%	4	0	15	1
CANADA total	82	14	17%	14	0	55	3
AUSTRALIA	30	0	0%	5	0	12	0
ICELAND	15	0	0%	1	0		
NEW ZEALAND							
Christchurch	16	0	0%	1	0	4	0
Auckland	20	0	0%	1	0	5	0
N.Z. total	36	0	0%	2	0	9	0
SWEDEN							
Stockholm	10	0	0%	2	0	4	0
Gothenburg	12	0	0%	2	0	8	0
SWEDEN Total	22	0	0%	4	0	12	0
UNITED KINGDOM							
London	40	0	0%	15	0	25	0
Cent. Scotland	12	0	0%	1	0	8	0
UK total	52	0	0%	16	0	33	0
UNITED STATES							
Des Moines	25	12	48%	12	1	12	1
Omaha	17	8	47%	31	5	17	0
San Francisco	35	10	29%	15	1	25	2
Cleveland	20	5	25%	8	1	18	2
Tucson	10	2	20%	2	0	6	0
Twin Cities	45	9	20%	35	7	25	1
Houston	25	5	20%	10	0	25	0
Chicago	40	7	18%	25	5	25	0
Tampa	25	4	16%	5	5	15	2
Seattle	30	4	13%	8	1	20	0
Miami	32	4	13%	10	0	25	3
Detroit	25	3	12%	8	0	12	1
Boston	35	4	11%	15	0	25	0
Newark	55	6	11%	20	3	30	22
Birmingham	20	2	10%	5	0	10	0
Atlanta	35	3	9%	15	3	25	1
NE Pennsylvania	20	1	5%	6	0	10	0
Charlotte	20	1	5%	8	1	16	0
New York	100	4	4%	40	1	60	0
Pittsburgh	30	1	3%	3	0	0	0
Philadelphia	30	0	0%	7	0	10	0
Los Angeles	45	0	0%	20	0	20	0
Utah	10	0	0%	5	0	10	0
Washington	25	0	0%	12	0	15	0
Western Colorado	18	0	0%	12	4	10	3
U.S. total	772	95	12%	337	38	466	38
Int'l totals	1009	109	11%	379	38	587	41
Goal/Should be	1000	131	13%	375	48	600	79
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA							
AMIEU	4	0	0%			2	0
MUA	4	0	0%			2	0
Total	8	0	0%			4	0
CANADA							
UFCW	9	2	22%	2	0	9	0
UNITE	4	0	0%	5	0	6	0
Total	13	2	15%	7	0	15	0
NEW ZEALAND							
MWU	2	0	0%				
NDU	2	0	0%				
Total	4	0	0%				
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	50	6	12%	75	8	40	4
UMWA	15	0	0%	4	0	10	0
UNITE	25	0	0%	20	0	20	0
Total	90	6	7%	99	8	70	

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees’ Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

\$85,000 Militant Fund March 10–May 12: Week 5 of 9			
	Goal	Paid	%
New York NY	7,500	3,508	47%
Charlotte NC	3,000	1,290	43%
Tucson AZ	250	100	40%
Atlanta GA	4,100	1,630	40%
Los Angeles CA	7,500	2,710	36%
Utah	800	250	31%
Northeast PA	1,600	430	27%
Birmingham AL	2,500	460	18%
Twin Cities MN	4,300	750	17%
Philadelphia PA	3,000	500	17%
Newark NJ	3,800	600	16%
Boston MA	2,800	440	16%
Des Moines IA	900	125	14%
Miami FL	1,600	210	13%
Omaha NE	900	99	11%
San Francisco CA	7,000	710	10%
Detroit MI	3,000	175	6%
Houston TX	3,200	180	6%
Washington DC	2,200	120	5%
Chicago IL	4,200	20	0%
Cleveland OH	1,100	5	0%
Pittsburgh PA	3,000	0	0%
Seattle WA	6,000	0	0%
Tampa FL	1,800	0	0%
Western CO	2,500	0	0%
Other	0	306	
U.S. Total	78,550	14,618	19%
Iceland	150	50	33%
New Zealand	1,500	212	14%
United Kingdom	500	10	2%
Australia	1,000	0	0%
Canada	3,460	0	0%
France	300	0	0%
Sweden	400	0	0%
International total	85,860	14,890	18%
Int'l goal/Should be	85,000	46,750	55%

Occupation of Iraq

Continued from front page

ington has turned its sights on Syria. In March, U.S. officials accused the Syrian government of supplying Baghdad with night-vision goggles and other military equipment. After the invasion was launched, they also claimed Damascus was “harboring fugitives” from the Iraqi government. On April 13, U.S. president George Bush declared, “We believe there are chemical weapons in Syria.” He warned that the government of President Bashar Assad “must cooperate” and abide by the U.S. government’s orders.

The next day White House spokesman Ari Fleischer labeled Syria a “terrorist state,” noting that it was on Washington’s list of “terrorist nations” together with Iraq, Iran, north Korea, Cuba, Libya, and Sudan. Secretary of State Colin Powell ratcheted up the threats further, warning of possible diplomatic or economic sanctions against Syria.

Referring to the U.S.-led invasion, Powell said there was a “new situation” in the Mideast. “We hope that all the nations in the region will now review their past practices and behavior.” Syria should “understand its obligations,” Powell warned.

The Syrian government has strongly denied the charges. “The only country in the region which has chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons is Israel,” a foreign ministry spokeswoman said in Damascus. The fact that a senior Iraqi official had been captured by U.S. forces near the Syrian border was “evidence that Syria didn’t let him in,” she said, striking a conciliatory tone toward Washington. “We never had friendly relations with them.”

The ruling Baathist Party of Syria, which shares roots with Iraqi Baathists, has historically taken an Arab nationalist stance. Posing as a champion of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination against Israeli aggression, it has backed resistance organizations such as Hezbollah in Lebanon, and Hamas and Islamic Jihad in Palestine. The government of Bashar Assad—who became president in 2000 after the death of his father, longtime president and Baathist leader Hafez Assad—has taken a more openly conciliatory stance toward Washington in face of the escalating imperialist war drive in the Mideast. In the past couple of years Damascus has “provided important intelligence support to Washington in its fight against al Qaeda,” a *Wall Street Journal* article noted.

Nonetheless, the U.S. government has only been emboldened by the signs of weakness from Damascus. In one provocative action, U.S. Special Forces operating in western Iraq took control of key crossings on two major highways into Syria.

Pentagon adviser Richard Perle, a member of the Defense Policy Board, stated April 11 that if Washington determined that Syria had “weapons of mass destruction,” it would not “rule out the use of any of our full range of capabilities.”

Invasion force consolidates control

The threats against Syria occur as the Anglo-American forces consolidate their hold on Iraq after a three-week-long invasion. Within days of the entry of imperialist forces into Baghdad in early April, U.S. troops had seized the key government buildings and strategic facilities. They engaged in some combat with the Saddam Hussein regime’s irregular forces, known as the Fedayeen, but the Iraqi armed forces largely disintegrated along with the regime and the ruling Baathist party apparatus.

By April 9, senior government officials had disappeared from public view and the city had for all practical purposes fallen into imperialist hands. Hussein himself has not been seen since an April 5 televised appearance in Baghdad. Five days later, U.S. troops had taken control of all major urban centers, including the northern cities of Kirkuk and Mosul as well as Tikrit, a Baathist bastion.

Numerous media reports have described the fact that most working people and other Iraqis are glad Hussein and his thugs are no longer in power after three decades of rule. U.S. and British troops were welcomed in many neighborhoods of Baghdad and other cities.

This was especially true in areas inhabited largely by Shiite Muslims, who had been subjected to particularly brutal oppression by the regime, which based itself

on perpetuating clan and religious divisions. The Baathist Party cultivated a base of support among a layer of Iraqis who identify themselves as Sunni Muslims.

In the southern city of Basra, for example, Shiites expressed relief that they were free of a regime that had brutally crushed their rebellion in early 1991, immediately following the Gulf War. One continuing symbol of this repression is the main mosque in Basra, destroyed by the regime when it smashed the uprising. Muslims there still have to pray on the street near the rubble of the mosque.

While many in impoverished Shiite neighborhoods of Baghdad have expressed support for the U.S. and British military presence, others, including supporters of pro-Iranian groups that opposed the Hussein regime, have made clear their hostility to the occupiers. In Tehran, dozens of supporters of one of these groups stormed the Iraqi embassy April 11, tearing down pictures of Hussein while chanting “Death to America.”

The U.S. military brass has gone out of its way to portray the occupation troops as “liberators” and not conquerors. For example, they barred any display of the American flag by U.S. military personnel on vehicles, buildings, and command posts.

Flag incident

On April 9, however, U.S. forces staged the toppling of a 40-foot bronze statue of Saddam Hussein in an incident that did not turn out the way Washington intended. A few hundred Iraqis gathered around the statue in central Baghdad as a U.S. armored vehicle took it down with a crane pulling a heavy cable. Before it was knocked down, a U.S. Marine draped a U.S. flag over Hussein’s head, “a gesture that drew a muted reaction from the crowd, gasps in the Pentagon briefing room, and anger from a commentator on the Arab news network Al Arabiya,” CNN reported. The Al Arabiya newsman said, “That should have been an Iraqi flag.” U.S. officers replaced the flag with an Iraqi one, but the scene had already been broadcast all over the Mideast and around the world.

It is indisputable that, in many cases, Iraqi toilers welcomed the U.S. and British troops for getting rid of the Hussein regime. Reactions have varied widely, however. Some have expressed support mixed with wariness. Others have not concealed their hostility to the occupiers. Some initially favorable attitudes have soured in response to the initial collapse of water and other basic services, the prospect of a long occupation, and the toll on civilians.

More than 1,200 civilians were killed in the U.S.-British invasion as of April 3—the figure reported by the Iraqi government before its overthrow. Thousands more have been wounded. As many as 10,000 Iraqi soldiers have been killed as well. The Pentagon has said it has no plans to determine how many Iraqi civilians have been killed, injured, or suffered property damage as a result of the U.S. assault.

At the Ani Mosque in Baghdad, a *New York Times* correspondent wrote, “a group of men confronted an American reporter, angrily denouncing the Bush administration for destroying the city’s public administration and doing little to replace it.”

Baghdad has been without electricity and drinking water for days and the medical system has “virtually collapsed,” according to the international Red Cross.

With the collapse of the dictatorship, residents of the capital set fire to symbols of the hated regime, including virtually every government ministry. Crowds broke into government buildings and businesses, carting off goods ranging from refrigerators to cars. Looting has also taken place in Basra and other cities.

Apparently caught unprepared, the U.S. military has responded by declaring a dusk-to-dawn curfew in Baghdad, and organizing joint street patrols by U.S. troops and Iraqi cops to crack down on people they accuse of looting. U.S. officials said they were trying to draw local Iraqi officials into organizing a police force.

Washington has set up an Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), run by the Pentagon, to take over the administration of Iraq. It is headed by retired U.S. general Jay Garner.

On April 8, 44 newly appointed officials



British troops entering Baghdad March 12, 1917. London installed a puppet monarchy and ruled Iraq as a colony for the next 13 years. After taking the city, British general Frederick Stanley Maude declared, “Our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators.” Sound familiar?

of the ORHA occupation regime arrived in the southern Iraqi port of Umm Qasr. These included retired generals Floyd Walters and Bruce Moore, and Barbara Bodine, former U.S. ambassador to Yemen, who will be the proconsuls in southern, northern, and central Iraq, respectively. Corporate lawyer and Pentagon advisor Michael Mobbs will direct the country’s civil administration. Mobbs is the author of a Pentagon memo asserting that the U.S. president can deem U.S. citizens “enemy combatants” and detain them indefinitely.

ORHA is supposed to govern Iraq on an interim basis and then hand over civil authority to a provisional administration made up of Iraqis chosen by Washington. Garner says he will do so within 90 days. Other U.S. officials have said the “interim” period will last longer.

To serve as an Iraqi figurehead for this U.S. protectorate, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy Paul Wolfowitz favor naming Ahmed Chalabi of the Iraqi National Congress, the U.S.-financed coalition of anti-Hussein groups.

Chalabi and a U.S.-trained unit of 700 of his thugs, called the “First Battalion of Free Iraqi Forces,” were airlifted on U.S. military planes to Nasiriya April 6. While he is backed by the Pentagon, U.S. State Department officials are opposed to such an appointment, concerned that Chalabi, a convicted bank embezzler who has lived in exile since Iraq became free from British colonial rule 45 years ago, has little credibility among the Iraqi population.

Some 20,000 Iraqis rallied in Nasiriya April 15 against Washington’s plans to impose such a new regime. Protesters chanted, “Yes to freedom.... Yes to Islam.... No to America.... No to Saddam.” The rally was organized in response to a U.S.-organized conference of Iraqi political groups flown to a nearby U.S. air base to make plans for a new government. “We cannot be part of a process which is under an American general,” a representative of the Iran-based Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution told the rally, Reuters reported.

The same day, in the northern city of Mosul, U.S. soldiers fired on a crowd protesting a U.S.-installed governor, killing at least 10 people and injuring as many as 100. The Australian Broadcasting Company reported that U.S. troops “fired into a crowd which was becoming increasingly hostile towards the new governor, Mashaan al-Juburi, as he was making a pro-U.S. speech.”

About 1,200 protesters blocked U.S. Marines from entering Kut’s city hall April 15, shouting: “No, No Chalabi!”

Conflicts with Paris, Berlin

Washington has made clear that it will be in charge of the new “interim” regime in Iraq, running into conflict with Paris, Berlin, and other imperialist governments, as well as the bureaucratic regime in Moscow, which all insist on a prominent role by the United Nations (see article on page 4).

The initial dispute has revolved around the “reconstruction” contracts. French and German companies are among those seeking a piece of the post-invasion booty. Paris-based telecommunications giant Alcatel, for example, says it is qualified

because it built Iraq’s telephone network. German engineering and construction firms built roads, bridges, and dams in Iraq, all of which have been devastated by the two imperialist wars and 12 years of economic sanctions against that country.

They are likely to be iced out by their U.S. rivals, however. The initial eight reconstruction contracts offered by the U.S. Agency for International Development were restricted to U.S. bidders. The Kellogg Brown & Root unit of U.S. company Halliburton was one of the first, winning a lucrative contract to make emergency repairs to Iraq’s oil fields and get them to prewar production levels. U.S. vice president Richard Cheney was previously Halliburton’s CEO for several years.

Washington ‘must hold Iraq together’

As they tighten their control over Iraq, the U.S. rulers are also concerned about the uncontrolled forces their invasion has set in motion. Despite its conflict with Saddam Hussein over the past 12 years, Washington had always relied on that regime to keep the struggles of the Kurds and other oppressed groups in check.

In the 1991 Gulf War the first Bush administration, after defeating Iraq’s army, allowed the Hussein regime to suppress uprisings by the Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south. The last thing the U.S. government wants is for the Kurdish people—an oppressed nationality in Iraq, Turkey, and other neighboring countries—to assert its long-denied right to self-determination.

In northern Iraq, for example, where the Kurdish population is concentrated, 4,000 Kurdish combatants joined with U.S. Special Operations troops to take Kirkuk, a major city and oil center. Pentagon officials quickly announced, however, that they were sending U.S. troops to replace the Kurdish *pesh merga* fighters, concerned that the latter’s presence might create conflicts with the Arab population and get in the way of consolidating U.S. control of the city. A related goal is to undercut objections by the Turkish government, which is worried that the events in Iraq may increase unrest among the large and savagely repressed Kurdish population in Turkey.

One of the clearest voices on the U.S. rulers’ need to keep a lid on Iraq’s oppressed nationalities has been ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan. “With the Iraqi army destroyed, U.S. forces must hold the country together. Any attempt by Kurds to declare independence would bring a rapid Turkish invasion,” he wrote in an April 14 syndicated column. “If we do not want a clash with the Turks, our Kurdish allies cannot be permitted to take over the cities of Kirkuk and Mosul, to which they have ancient claims.”

Buchanan added, “A similar problem exists in the south. In 1991, the Shiites rose in rebellion at the urging of Bush I and were butchered by Saddam’s troops. As the largest ethnic group in Iraq, will they accept continued rule by the Sunnis who persecuted them for three decades? What will we do if the Shiites and Kurds both declare independence? Iran, a Shiite nation, will be fishing in these waters.”

‘Independent libraries’ in Cuba a U.S.-promoted fraud

Librarian in Havana speaks out

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN
AND JONATHAN SILBERMAN

HAVANA—“When I’m asked questions about libraries and the access to books in Cuba, my first response is always to encourage people to come here and see for themselves,” said Eliades Acosta, director of the renowned José Martí National Library here.

Acosta was speaking to *Militant* reporters in the light of new efforts to breathe some life into the misnamed “Friends of Cuban Libraries” campaign, which charges the Cuban government with censorship and repression of “independent libraries.” This campaign is part of Washington’s four-decade-long policy aimed at overthrowing the Cuban Revolution, which includes an unrelenting economic war, violent attacks by U.S.-based counterrevolutionaries, and a ceaseless propaganda effort to justify its aggression.

The U.S. government launched “Friends of Cuban Libraries” in 1999 under the guise of being a private initiative independent of Washington. Its main public spokesperson in the United States is Robert Kent, a reference librarian at the New York Public Library with a long history of activity against the Cuban revolution.

The campaign uses what is known as Track II of the Cuba Democracy Act of 1992, often called the Torricelli law after its chief congressional sponsor, which under the banner of the “free flow of ideas” provides for material support by the U.S. government to opponents of the Cuban Revolution. Freedom House and the Center for a Free Cuba are two organizations that receive U.S. government funding and channel resources to the so-called independent libraries.

‘Libraries with no readers’

The campaign has been dealt blows by the efforts of serious librarians and others to get out the truth. Librarians from the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries have responded to Acosta’s invitation and visited Cuba to see for themselves.

They discovered that these supposed libraries “have no books, no librarians and no readers,” Acosta explained. “They’re what I call ‘virtual libraries,’ existing largely in propaganda and on the web.”

The individuals who have designated their own homes and the books they have as libraries “are really a group of 100–200 people with a political project. One day they are a librarian, another day a journalist, another day a representative of a political party.”

As a result, the American Library Association (ALA) and the Progressive Librarians Guild have publicly gone on record distancing themselves from this campaign. At its annual conference in 2001, the ALA refused to endorse the so-called independent libraries in Cuba and instead adopted a resolution opposing Washington’s efforts to “limit access to informational materials by Cuba’s libraries.” In addition, the ALA international relations committee established a “protocol of cooperation” with the Cuban Library Association. The London-based Cuban Library Support Group has broadly disseminated information about the Cuban library system.

In most countries this anti-Cuba campaign has failed, Acosta said. But recently there have been moves in Sweden and the United States to resuscitate it. At last year’s book fair in Gothenburg, Sweden, a group called the Swedish International Liberal Center distributed leaflets in support of what it called the “free libraries” in Cuba. This organization—led by the youth group of the liberal People’s Party, one of the two main bourgeois parties in Sweden—has also distributed leaflets on the streets of Stockholm, the country’s capital, Acosta reported.

More recently James Cason, head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, has agi-

tated about a shipment of about 5,000 books sent to Cuba by the U.S. government that was held up at Cuban customs. Articles in the U.S. big-business media have reported that the Cuban government was keeping books by Martin Luther King, Jr., John Steinbeck, and Groucho Marx out of the country. The shipment was being sent to the “independent libraries,” Cason said.

Over the past several months the U.S.-promoted campaign of provocations against Cuba has increased, culminating in a string of plane and ferry hijackings. Since March, 75 individuals, including several who identify themselves publicly as “independent librarians,” have been arrested, tried, and convicted on charges of receiving money from Washington and collaborating with U.S. diplomats to subvert the Cuban Revolution (see accompanying article).

“The reality is that there are no banned books in Cuba,” Acosta said. “Any social project that prohibits and censors books is doomed to fail—it won’t have a future.” Referring to the annual 10-day book fair and cultural festival that draws hundreds of thousands of Cubans, Acosta noted, “Dictatorships never organize things such as the book fair in Havana. They maintain power in part by keeping people ignorant.”

The library head gave the example of a recent visitor to Havana who questioned him about a list of books that, according to Robert Kent, were forbidden in Cuba. “The list contained books by George Orwell, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Mario Vargas Llosa, Reinaldo Arenas, and Octavio Paz.

Cuban authorities arrest, convict 85

Continued from front page
arrests and trials.

The U.S. rulers have now seized on the sentences to justify ratcheting up their decades-long efforts to bring down the Cuban revolution. On April 8, the U.S. House of Representatives voted 414–0 for a resolution demanding the immediate release of the imprisoned “dissidents.” The editors of numerous U.S. dailies—many of them liberals who have in the past called for easing Washington’s trade and economic sanctions against Cuba—have joined the chorus condemning Havana for alleged “human rights violations.” A number have shifted away from their previous stance on the embargo.

During an April 9 news conference in Havana, Cuba’s foreign minister Felipe Pérez Roque detailed the provocations orchestrated by Washington since last summer that led to the arrests and trials. These recent actions, the foreign minister explained, built on the U.S. government’s unrelenting economic war, support for paramilitary forces operating from U.S. territory, assassination attempts against Cuban government leaders, and efforts to isolate Cuba diplomatically and politically for more than four decades. The people and the government of Cuba “are currently waging a hard struggle for their right to self-determination, for their right to independence,” he said.

“In the last seven months,” Pérez Roque stated, “there have been seven hijackings of Cuban air and sea crafts, encouraged by...the indiscriminate application of the Cuban Adjustment Act, by the practice of receiving people who use terrorism and violence to get there.”

Approved by the U.S. Congress in 1966, the Cuban Adjustment Act encourages people to leave Cuba for the United States by providing virtually automatic asylum to any Cuban who lands on Florida’s shores regardless of whatever crimes they may have committed to get there.

In an accord signed by both governments in 1994, Washington agreed to provide 20,000 visas annually to Cubans wishing to emigrate to the United States and who apply to do so. Even though requests



During 1961 literacy drive in Cuba, more than 100,000 brigadistas—the majority of them young women, like the one shown above—went to the countryside to teach one million peasants and workers to read and write. Raising the cultural level of the entire nation has been a top priority of the Cuban Revolution, including through today’s ‘family library’ program making available 25 classic works of world and Cuban literature to every Cuban family. ‘Independent libraries’ in Cuba have no readers, existing largely in U.S.-organized propaganda.

But we found most of the books cited in the library here,” Acosta said.

“Nor do we have a problem with donations of books from abroad,” he noted, expressing his appreciation of 5,000 books donated by a university in Mexico to five provincial libraries, and the donation by publishers in Andalusia, Spain, of a two-volume dictionary of all writers in Spanish to municipal and popular libraries in Cuba.

“What we reject are political donations where the U.S. government makes donations to opposition political forces it supports inside the country,” he said.

Acosta showed us a stack of book lists he was presently working on. “We have an exchange with a library in Berkeley in California. We send them Cuban books and they send us books that we ourselves choose,” he said. “We have already received about 117 books from these lists, many of them published by Ediciones

Universal in Miami.” Reading aloud from the list, Acosta mentioned books by Cuban authors critical of the revolution who now live outside the country: like *El heraldo de las malas noticias* (The bearer of bad news) by Guillermo Cabrera Infante, *Historia de la otra revolución* (Story of the other revolution) by Vicente Echerri, *Informe contra mí mismo* (Self-criticism) by Eliseo Alberto, books by Rafael Rojas and a whole list of others.

“We have asked for, and are still waiting for, another 280 books, such as *Notas críticas de la revolución* (Critical notes on the revolution) and *Compañero*, the Che [Guevara] biography by Jorge Castañeda.”

Acosta pointed to the efforts being taken in Cuba to expand cultural links with Cubans, often critical of the revolution, now living abroad. He showed us three books, compilations of essays, poetry, and short

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have exceeded this number every year, the U.S. government has been granting a diminishing number of visas. The number of visas issued has dropped from nearly 11,000 in the year 2000 to 8,300 in 2001 and just over 7,000 in 2002. In the first five months of this year, which for immigration purposes begins October 1, the U.S. Interests Section had issued only 500 visas, Pérez Roque pointed out. “We are dealing with a deliberate plan to make those who want to emigrate lose hope, so that they have no alternative but illegal immigration,” he stated.

At the same time, the Cuban foreign minister noted, “The U.S. Interest Section’s diplomatic pouch is increasingly being used to bring in funds and other materials to carry out counterrevolutionary acts to groups in Cuba created and funded by the U.S. government.”

The two countries have not had diplomatic relations since Washington broke them off shortly after the victory of the 1959 revolution: a popular insurrection that brought down the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and established a government that defended the interests of Cuban workers and farmers, not the property interests of U.S. ruling families. Each government’s diplomatic personnel operates out of an Interests Section, hosted formally by a third country’s embassy.

Pérez Roque accused James Cason, head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana since last July, of engaging in increasingly provocative actions. “The U.S. Interests Section in Havana has been instructed to establish there what is practically the headquarters of internal subversion in Cuba,” the foreign minister said. “The head of this section has the highest profile of anyone in its 25 years of functioning, in open violation of the laws governing diplomatic conduct, openly interfering in Cuba’s internal affairs, with a tone and demeanor totally inappropriate for a diplomat.” This course is consistent with “the obsession of U.S. governments to fabricate an opposition in Cuba,” he stated.

Cuban authorities charged, tried, and

convicted those arrested of having received large amounts of funds towards these ends. Most of these individuals had taken part in meetings with U.S. diplomats, including at Cason’s residence and U.S. diplomatic offices. Cason has also regularly met with Cuban-American counterrevolutionary groups during frequent visits back home. “Every time I go to Miami, I want to meet...with all the groups,” the U.S. diplomat said in a recently televised interview in Miami. These include the Cuban-American National Foundation and the Council for the Freedom of Cuba. The latter is a paramilitary group that has carried out armed acts against Cuba from U.S. soil.

Pérez Roque also answered accusations leveled by Washington and the international big-business media that the recent trials violated basic rights of the accused. He stated that all those indicted had access to legal counsel, were allowed visits by family members during legal proceedings, and have been notified of their right to appeal their sentences up to the country’s Supreme Court. None of them have been subjected to solitary confinement or have been mistreated in jail, he said. In response to accusations that the legal proceedings were “secret,” Pérez Roque said that the trial hearings were public, with an average of 100 people attending, including many family members, each of the 29 trials held so far.

The Cuban media reported that at least a dozen of the individuals the U.S. Interests Section was collaborating with were government agents who had infiltrated the counterrevolutionary groups working with Washington. Several of these undercover agents gained enough trust from U.S. diplomats that they had permission to use the computers of diplomatic personnel whenever they wished. The testimony of the Cuban security agents was part of the evidence presented in the trials. After being publicly identified, they are now being welcomed for their deeds by comrades and friends in events across the island. “Today we know the true face of the revolutionary and unbreakable nation,” the Cuban daily *Granma* said, when their identities were revealed.

Peggy Brundy, a veteran socialist for four decades

‘A rank-and-file cadre of the kind around whom the troops are formed’

BY BERNIE SENTER

SAN FRANCISCO—“Peggy Brundy was a rank-and-file cadre who saw everything she did as a way of helping others to develop the same kind of discipline and habits that she had acquired. Peggy was the kind of cadre that is the backbone of any working-class organization—the kind around whom the troops are formed.”

This is how Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and president of Pathfinder Press, described the 40-year veteran socialist at an April 6 meeting to celebrate Brundy’s life.

Brundy was 59 when she died here of cancer March 28. Over 70 people attended the celebration, held at the New College, of her nearly 40-year contribution to the communist movement. Participants included SWP members and supporters who worked with Brundy over the years, family members, young people eager to learn about the socialist movement, and others. A 25-foot-long display with numerous panels depicted the political events that shaped Brundy’s life and highlighted the numerous contributions she made to building the communist movement.

Brundy joined the socialist movement in 1964 when she was attending Carleton College in Minnesota. Washington’s war to crush the Vietnamese revolution was escalating then; the Cuban revolution and anticolonial struggles were having a deep impact on youth and others; and the mass civil rights struggles by millions of Blacks were dealing powerful blows to centuries of entrenched racism and segregation.

Waters noted that Brundy came around a socialist discussion group organized by the Young Socialist Alliance. “The YSA she joined was part of the continuity of several years of work at Carleton and the recruitment of young people who became loyal members and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party over the years,” she said.

Waters noted that Brundy’s first several years in the movement gave her a grounding in Marxism and working-class politics that she drew on the rest of her life. Shortly after joining the YSA, Brundy moved to Minneapolis. Veteran communists like Ray Dunne, and Helen and Charlie Scheer, were members of that SWP branch at the time. Brundy, like others of her generation recruited in Minnesota, studied basic works of the communist movement like the *History of American Trotskyism, Struggle for a Proletarian Party, In Defense of Marxism*, and books and pamphlets by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

A short time later, in 1965, Brundy moved to New York City to work at the shop organized by the SWP to print books,

pamphlets, magazines, and later the *Militant* newspaper. She wrote a letter in 2002 describing her experiences. “When I started there were four people there,” Brundy said. “My assignment was to set type. I knew absolutely nothing about typesetting and was a pitiful typist. I quickly became very fast and dangerously inaccurate. [SWP leader] Al Hansen cured that with a two-part treatment: a comradely explanation of the importance of accuracy and an unbendable rule—I had to correct all my errors myself.” After typing an issue of the magazine *International Socialist Review*, “I spent literally days with a razor blade cutting out misspelled words and replacing them with accurately spelled words. It’s a lesson that has stayed with me.”

What’s important, Waters noted, “is that Peggy gained very deep satisfaction from that work, a sense of accomplishing something that was extremely important with each and every corrected word. She internalized what it meant for the kind of party that she was working with others to build, and why those high standards of accuracy are a necessity for a political party that represents the interests of the class that she saw as the future of humanity.”

In a message to the meeting, Tony Thomas from Miami, Florida, explained that he first met Brundy in the 1960s in New York, shortly after he joined the YSA. Though they were about the same age, Thomas said Brundy’s seriousness and hardworking attitudes “made her seem more like the older generation of the proletarian comrades from the 1930s.”

Part of Cannon’s secretarial staff

Brundy moved to Los Angeles in 1968 to be part of the staff at the house the party organized for James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States. In 1928 Cannon broke with the Stalinized Communist Party and formed what later became the Socialist Workers Party. He served as the party’s national secretary and, later, national chairman. After his longtime companion and collaborator Rose Karsner died in 1968, the party established a household and secretarial staff that facilitated Cannon’s literary work for several more years.

Joel Britton, a SWP leader in Chicago today and organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the party at that time, described some of Brundy’s experiences. “Peggy took on a very big responsibility as a 23 year old as part of Cannon’s secretariat,” he said. Speeches and writings that, as Cannon noted, “slept in the files,” were being prepared as manuscripts for books. “These were books Peggy helped to organize classes around as a new generation



Militant/Shirley Peña

Participants at April 6 meeting (above) to celebrate the life of Peggy Brundy view display spanning her 40-year contribution to building the communist movement. Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters (inset) speaks at the meeting.

became imbued with what it means to build a proletarian party in the late 1960s when a great deal was going on,” Britton said, “but when it’s not yet possible to once again build a Bolshevik party centered in the industrial working class and its unions.”

Britton, who was also part of Cannon’s household staff, pointed out that Peggy was in charge. “There was a schedule for reading and studying,” he said. “Jim welcomed the newest recruit, and collaborated with leaders of our world movement, and an occasional old Wobbly. But you had to go through Peggy. She made sure nobody abused their privilege of staying too long. And like a lot of what she did, she did it quietly but convincingly.”

In October 1968 the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party was firebombed while Brundy, Britton, and others were inside. The bombing occurred at a time of deepening struggles. Seven or eight months earlier the Vietnamese had dealt a stunning blow to U.S. imperialism during what has become known as the Tet offensive. Some 17,000 GIs had been killed by that time and 108,000 wounded. The SWP had sent its presidential candidate, Fred Halstead, to Vietnam to talk to GIs. “This was a big year of revolutionary struggles by Blacks,” Britton stated. “Tremendous explosions took place in more than 150 cities following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.”

Britton was meeting with Chicano activists on how to respond to the massacre by cops of students protesting in Mexico City when “a tremendous explosion took place right underneath us that blew out the front door. The Cuban counterrevolutionaries who did this left their United Cuban Power sticker behind, as they did a few months later when they planted three sticks of dynamite at the door that didn’t go off. They had carried out a string of bombings against anybody doing business with or supporting the Cuban revolution.

“As I went out the back,” Britton said, “I told Peggy to call the press. We literally were on live TV within a few minutes. The dust hadn’t really settled and here we were protesting this and demanding they prosecute those who perpetrated the bombing. We reached out broadly for support and the pressure was so great that a while later a few of those responsible were arrested and prosecuted by city authorities.”

‘Why not kill the whole system?’

One message came from Maceo Dixon, today part of the coordinating committee of Pathfinder’s business and distribution center in Atlanta, Georgia. He first met Brundy in 1970 in Detroit when he joined the socialist movement. “I was raw and very wild. The times were very tumultuous,” Dixon recounted. “I remember having a conversation with Peggy about police killing Black youth. My attitude was that for every youth a cop killed, revolutionaries should kill 10 cops. Peggy looked at me and asked, ‘What would that do? They would just replace those cops. Why don’t you want to kill the whole system?’ That made much more sense to me.”

Brundy traveled with SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness during the 1972 elections. She worked with the local

branches of the party to organize the campaign’s daily schedule, took care of security questions, wrote articles for the *Militant*, and made sure there was an occasional day of relaxation. Campaign meetings for Jenness and her running mate, Andrew Pulley, often drew large audiences. Hundreds of people were recruited to the socialist movement during that campaign.

In the mid-1970s, Brundy served as the managing editor for Pathfinder Press. “While Peggy was heading up the Pathfinder staff, some 240 titles were published,” Waters noted. “It was probably the period of the greatest quantity of publishing that Pathfinder has ever done.” She also served as associate editor for the *International Socialist Review* magazine in 1970–71.

Brundy was one of several SWP field organizers in the late 1970s. She collaborated with party units in Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Louisville at the time. The SWP had launched its turn to the industrial unions and was concentrating its forces in basic industry. This decision was based on the changes in the world as a result of the U.S. government’s defeat in Vietnam and the 1974–75 world recession, the sharpest worldwide economic downturn since the 1930s. This period was marked by the beginning of labor resistance in the United States—from the campaign of steel workers led by Ed Sadlowski to democratize the Steelworkers union, to struggles by iron miners in Minnesota, and by coal miners in several states.

Nan Bailey, who was in Detroit at that time, highlighted the work Brundy did with party members who were women getting industrial jobs at a time when the bosses had still largely kept women out of work in industry. “We were part of the vanguard,” Bailey said. Fights for affirmative action for Blacks had “also laid the basis for women to get these jobs.”

‘An architect by example’

Jason Alessio, a coal miner from Rangle, Colorado, spoke on behalf of the Young Socialists. “Peggy was an architect by example,” he observed. “She made sure that new rebel youth had in their hands the continuity of the communist movement embodied in the books. For myself, it wasn’t enough to have the passion and the will to change the world—you had to have direction. And it helps to have people like Peggy by your side. To develop as a young revolutionary, you have to read and study. And you also have to jump into action and participate in the struggles alongside people like Peggy.”

Brundy herself got a job in an oil refinery in Houston in the early 1980s. Tony Dutrow, a Houston packinghouse worker, sent a message telling about a conversation he had with Tom Boots, a leader of the fight against a lockout by Crown Central Petroleum in the late 1990s. Though Brundy had worked there more than a decade and a half earlier, Dutrow noted, she had left a strong impression on Boots. “We called her ‘Commissar Peggy,’” said Boots. He explained how she “fought to learn the job, fighting against both lingering prejudices against female workers as well as

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Militant

Peggy Brundy (right) was part of the secretarial and household staff for James P. Cannon (left), a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States.

Iran: 1978 revolt broke hold of the shah

(Second of three articles)

BY MA'MUD SHIRVANI

Last week we described the decades of revolutionary struggle in Iran to rid the country of the Persian monarchy and its imperialist backers, primarily London and Washington. It was the U.S. CIA in 1953 that organized a coup putting Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi back in power after an upsurge demanding democratic rule and nationalization of the oil fields.

It took another 25 years for the Iranian people to recover from that counterrevolution and mount a new struggle to topple the shah. That battle exploded into the open with the Tabriz uprising in February 1978. In the Islamic tradition of mourning, demonstrations began to take place around the country every 40 days afterward. Each time the army was called in to shoot at demonstrators, more people came forward to join the struggle.

During one of the protests in the industrial city of Isfahan, demonstrators took over parts of the city for two days until the regime declared martial law for the first time since 1953. A march of a million people, the largest ever held in Iran, took place in Tehran Sept. 7, 1978. "Say death to the shah," "Throw out America," "Khomeini is our leader," and "We want an Islamic Republic" were the main demands. The last slogan was being raised for the first time.

Because of the Stalinist betrayals and defeats suffered by the working class during the second Iranian revolution (see first article in this series), and due to the intensity of political repression under the shah, especially against toilers, there were no mass working-class organizations that could take the lead in this third revolution. The Islamic clerical hierarchy, and increasingly those around Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, were looked to by the masses as a new leadership. From exile, Khomeini urged protesters to remain in the streets until the shah was gone. Mosques became centers of organization.

Bloody Friday spurs workers to action

The shah declared martial law in Tehran and 11 other cities September 7. He appointed General Gholam Oveisi military governor of the capital. Oveisi had been known as the "butcher of Iran" for his murderous assault on demonstrators in 1963 that left thousands dead.

When protesters gathered in Jaleh Square in Tehran on Friday, September 7, they were attacked with tanks and machine guns. A reporter for the *Guardian*, a London daily, wrote that the scene resembled a firing squad, with troops shooting at a mass of stationary protesters. More than 4,000 demonstrators were killed around the country that day, with as many as 500 in Tehran alone. Sept. 7, 1978, came to be known as "Bloody Friday."

This massacre by the army was not followed by mass outbursts or demonstrations around the country. The rulers hoped they had turned the tide. U.S. president James Carter called the shah to reiterate his backing. Carter said he hoped the "disturbances" would end, while "expressing regret" over the bloodshed.



Photo in Tehran newspaper shows scene in Iranian capital after Sept. 7, 1978, "Bloody Friday" massacre. Bodies of some of the 500 murdered can be seen on the street.

That hope was premature. A mighty force, the industrial working class, entered the scene. The day after Bloody Friday—Saturday, September 8—was the first day of the workweek in Iran. Some 700 workers at the Tehran oil refinery went on strike demanding higher wages and an end to martial law.

Workers had been part of the demonstrations up to then. Now, for the first time, they acted in their capacity as a class. The strike was not called by any union—no independent unions were allowed under the shah—nor by any of the figures in the clerical leadership. It was the work of rank-and-file leaders who had emerged prior to and in the process of the mass movement against the monarchy.

Two days later, workers in oil refineries of Abadan—by far the largest—as well as Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz joined the strike. This was followed by cement workers in Tehran, who added a call for freedom of all political prisoners to their demands. Oil workers in Ahwaz demanded an end to the discrimination against women workers.

Waves of political walkouts continued into October, involving 40,000 oil workers, 150,000 textile workers, 40,000 steel workers, and 100,000 government employees. Eventually the strike crippled almost all industry, banks, post offices, railways, customs and port facilities, internal air flights, radio and television stations, state-run hospitals, bazaars, and universities.

By early November sugar beets were rotting in the southern fields because 7,000 agricultural workers of the giant agribusiness complex of Haft-Tapeh had struck for more than a month.

Many in the ruling class were losing confidence in their ability to hold onto power.

Workers in the Central Bank opened the books and published the names of 180 government figures who had recently transferred \$4.2 billion out of the country. The list included capitalists and the shah's ranking cabinet members and generals.

The strikes kept the regime unbalanced and provided time for the mass movement to revive with heightened vigor. The middle class for the most part joined the movement. National demonstrations were called for Dec. 10–11, the two major religious mourning days of Tasua and Ashura. Millions came out into the streets across the country. In Tehran alone the demonstration attracted nearly two million. "Hang the American puppet!" and "U.S. imperialism out of Iran!" were among the demands.

By now peasants from the nearby villages were joining the demonstrations in the cities in large numbers. Then, young worker-peasants who commuted to the cities began organizing meetings and marches back in their villages. And as the mass movement grew, agitation started in the villages for peasants to take over land belonging to the large absentee landowners and the royal family.

Because workers controlled the electricity flow it was possible for people in cities and towns to participate in a new form of anti-shah protest at night. Its effect on the Iranian rulers, and those Washington had dispatched to prop them up, is best described in the memoirs of Gen. Robert Huyser, Supreme Allied Commander in



Resistance

Iranian oil workers October 1978, in walkout that began September 8. The strike was the work of rank-and-file leaders who had emerged prior to and in the process of the mass movement against the monarchy. Their action marked the end of shah.

Europe. Huyser had been assigned by U.S. president James Carter to go to Iran and organize the shah's generals to carry out a counterrevolutionary military coup. His memoirs are published in the book *Mission to Tehran*.

'Nerve-shattering sounds'

After entering Iran illegally and incognito, Huyser described his first night in the country—on Jan. 4, 1979—this way: "Nerve-shattering sounds filled the night air as I began my first night in Tehran. People shouted 'Allah akbar!' (God is great) from nearby rooftops, and every call was echoed from another area. Automatic weapon fire ripped through the darkness, reminding me of the front line in Korea. The electricity was cut off for a couple of hours every night, starting about 8:30 p.m., as a form of harassment by the opposition forces.... The house soon felt the winter's chill, and blackness filled the rooms."

The general and his host walked "on the verandah to listen to the sounds of the human jungle.... The chanting and gunfire continued until well into curfew, which ran from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. It was not till midnight that the crowds finally dispersed and an uneasy peace descended. I spent a sleepless night."

Strikes helped revive the mass demonstrations. The street protests, in turn, boosted workers' morale in face of repeated assaults by SAVAK, the secret police, and the military to break the walkouts. When the regime was able to break a strike, workers went back to the plant to organize another one.

A leader of the Ahwaz oil workers in Khuzistan said that their first strike started October 18, lasted 33 days, and was finally broken by the regime. The military would go door to door searching for the striking workers, he added, and arrest whoever they found and force them to work.

"At this point, we decided to go back to work along with other workers and prepare for a new strike," he noted. "We did not consider ourselves defeated, since it was obvious that there was a continuing movement of the entire Iranian people." The first day they went back, he said, they held a general meeting, elected a coordinating committee of 15, and began contacting workers of other factories on strike.

As walkouts spread throughout the southern oil-producing region, Iranian oil exports dropped to zero. Later, after much debate, workers decided to produce enough oil to meet the needs of the population, but first they made sure that the military would not be able to lay their hands on it.

Without oil exports and the consequent revenues, the regime headed for fiscal collapse. Strikes by bank workers prevented capital allocation and the payment of wages and salaries. Walkouts by customs workers halted the delivery of spare parts and raw materials. Strikes caused most government ministries to shut down. Students took over the universities and turned them into centers of political discussion and activity, where all pro-revolution political tendencies could participate.

By early January 1979, democratically elected strike committees had occupied many large factories, government ministries, and communication centers. Leaderships of the different strike committees began contacting each other on issues relating to strikes and the revolution. An agreement was reached between the strike committees of oil workers and railway employees for trains to carry the fuel necessary for domestic consumption. The strike committees also organized to safeguard the factories, which to a large extent were state-owned, from accidents and sabotage. The strike committee at the Isfahan steel mill negotiated with the strike committee of railway workers requesting them to carry the coal they required from Kerman to keep the plant boilers warm.

Workers aimed at regime's overthrow

To the government's insistent offers of high wage increases if workers dropped their political demands, the unanimous answer was no. This came as a surprise to *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randall, who interviewed two young leaders of the coordinating committee leading the oil workers strike at the Abadan refinery. He wrote October 10 that their comments "suggested a devotion to utopian ideals rather than the give-and-take of labor-management struggle."

The leaderships of the strike committees were often a nuclei of workers who had known one another for some time, had discussed politics, and had gone through common experiences. A strike leader in a Caterpillar plant, for example, said, "We were a group of workers and employees who knew each other well through our participation in various revolutionary activities for at least seven to eight years. Because we were also of similar mind about the social problems...we managed to form a secret nucleus.... This nucleus would engage in all sorts of political activity here, as far as it could, and would also intervene in other work places."

The rank-and-file working-class leaderships that were emerging in these battles, however, were not able to link up politically on a national level. Without a proletarian party that could unite them, they were pushed back by the existing bourgeois leadership of the mass movement every time they tried to chart an independent, working-class course.

No revolutionary working-class leadership existed on a national scale, experienced in the struggle and known and trusted by the masses to lead the workers and farmers, who were already making gigantic strides forward, to take political power and establish a workers and peasants republic.

Next week we will see how the working class, in alliance with the peasants and many from the middle classes, thwarted Washington's efforts to stage a counter-revolutionary coup, like the one in 1953, and went on to carry out an insurrection that toppled the monarchy.

(To be continued next week)

Oakland cops fire on antiwar protesters

BY BILL KALMAN

OAKLAND, California—In the first such use of force against antiwar protesters in the United States since the invasion of Iraq began, police in riot gear attacked a crowd of more than 500 at the Port of Oakland here, April 7. Oakland police fired “nonlethal” ammunition at demonstrators picketing two freight terminals at the docks. They indiscriminately shot at the crowd with 1 ½ inch thick wooden dowels, bean bags, rubber pellets, tear gas, concussion grenades, and sting balls. Dozens of people were injured, including several longshoremen arriving for work. Thirty-one people were arrested.

The protests were organized by Direct Action to Stop the War against two shipping companies with Pentagon contracts, APL and Stevedoring Services of America (SSA). Protesters had arrived early in the morning carrying signs that read “Embargo War Cargo,” hoping to shut the terminals down. As people slowly picketed in the street blocking the gates, a line of cops in battle gear, reinforced by two dozen police on motorcycles, ordered the crowd to disperse—and then opened fire.

“I got hit in the back twice as I was walking away,” Susan Quinlan told the *San Francisco Chronicle*. “Everybody was walking away and they continued to shoot for a little while.” The police continued to fire on a small group of about 150 left after the larger crowd had dispersed. The cop attack at one of the largest ports in the country made national news. The outcry in the Bay Area was immediate.

“The protest was totally peaceful,” said Steve Stallone of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), who was on the scene. “The police suddenly gave a two-minute warning...then began firing objects and grenades into the crowd.” ILWU Local 10 organizes workers on the Oakland docks.

Longshoremen Kevin Wilson stated he was “standing as far back as I could. It was very scary. All of that force wasn’t necessary.” Though the ILWU wasn’t part of the



Cops fire on antiwar protesters at Port of Oakland on April 7, using “nonlethal” ammunition—from wooden dowels to sting balls. Dozens were injured in the attack.

protest, a union official was arrested. “Our guys were standing in one area waiting to go to work,” said ILWU Local 10 president Henry Graham, “and then the police started firing on the longshoremen. Some were hit in the chest with rubber bullets, and seven of our guys went to the hospital.”

The previous week, management from both APL and SSA met with port officials and police brass to coordinate efforts to prevent the planned demonstration from blocking terminal gates. “The goal was to keep the gates open,” said Port of Oakland spokesman Harold Jones. “How they [the police] decided to do that, however, was not under our control.”

Oakland police chief Richard Word defended the cops’ actions, as did Oakland mayor Edmund Brown, Jr. The protesters wanted to “occupy and take over the port and shut it down. The city is not going to let that happen,” Brown said. “Oakland is second-to-none in its support of peaceful assembly and protest.” As the outrage over the police action continued unabated over

the following days, Brown refused to back off from his support for the cops. “We also have people saying this [the protest] was sabotage. They wanted to stop the shipments to the men and women on the front.”

Oakland police insisted that their response was justified because they were being pelted by debris from the crowd. Eyewitnesses dispute this claim. Joel Tena, an aide to Oakland vice mayor Nancy Nadel, was sent to the protest as an observer. “At no time did I see protesters act in a provocative way or throw any projectile,” he said. Four Oakland City Council members have now called for independent investigation into the matter, as has the ILWU and the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

The day after the cop attack a regularly scheduled City Council meeting was jammed with people upset by the previous day’s events. One hundred signed up to speak at the meeting, including several of the injured longshoremen. The first 13 speakers all criticized the cops. When City Council president Ignacio De La Fuente

‘Independent libraries’ in Cuba are a fraud

Continued from Page 7

stories, each jointly edited by a Cuban living on the island and a Cuban living abroad. “This series was financed by a cultural fund in Mexico and presented at the Guadalajara International Book Fair in Mexico in November last year,” he said.

“The selection of essays is edited by Rafael Hernández and Rafael Rojas; the short stories by Jorge Fornet and Carlos Espinoza Domínguez; and the poetry by Jesús J. Barquet and Norberto Codina,” he noted. Hernández, Fornet, and Codina are well-known authors resident in Havana; the other three live abroad.

Expanding access to education

“Our problem,” Acosta pointed out, “is not that we don’t want books, but that we don’t have the money to get the books we desperately want and need. From the earliest years of the revolution in 1959, our policy has been: *‘No le decimos al pueblo, cree. Le decimos, lee.’* [‘We don’t tell people to believe, we tell them—read.’] The problem is that we don’t have hard currency. Even at the book fair here, I wasn’t able to buy all the books we wanted for lack of funds.”

Acosta was referring to the Havana International Book Fair, held in late January and early February, which drew a record 400,000 Cubans this year. The Cuban government and cultural and other organizations in Cuba have devoted major resources to the annual book fair, which has grown in attendance and since last year has been extended to other parts of the country. This year the book fair traveled to 30 cities in addition to Havana. This expansion is part of what is called the “battle of ideas” here—an effort, through more than 100 various programs, to broaden access by working people—especially those hardest hit by the economic crisis—to education and culture.

One of these projects is the effort to establish “popular libraries” in working-class neighborhoods and rural areas across the island. “There are now 12 popular libraries in four provinces of Cuba,” Acosta said. “Each has 10 copies of 1,000 titles, as well as TVs, computers, and other resources.

After evaluating this pilot program, we will start 200 more, to have libraries in communities that have been marginalized and especially need libraries like this one. The goal is to have 1,000 such libraries, but we will have to take this step by step.”

Another project, called the “family library” program, is the publication of boxed sets of 25 classics of world and Cuban literature in inexpensive newsprint editions, an effort that was announced at the Havana book fair in 2002. The first set has been published and is on sale for 60 Cuban pesos—just over \$2. It will be followed later this year by a set of 25 Cuban classics.

Knowledge of these facts has had an impact on a wide array of librarians around

the world, including in the United States. A resolution adopted Jan. 17, 2000, by the Social Responsibilities Round Table (SRRT) of the ALA, for example, states that “this group of ‘independent librarians’ [in Cuba] are not librarians, but political dissidents of various professions apparently establishing centers of information in their homes or storefronts, and supported by funds and materials from such organizations as Freedom House, which is subsidized by the U.S. government.”

The document also says that “SRRT joins the British organization, Cuban Libraries Group, which advocates a positive program of interaction with, and support for, libraries and librarians in Cuba.”

Chicago janitors make gains in contract

Continued from front page

union accord with the Cleaning Contractors Association of Greater Chicago, the suburban building management.

According to the SEIU, these unionized janitors clean 95 percent of buildings in downtown Chicago and 87 percent in the suburbs. The downtown contract includes wage increases of 30 cents this year, 25 cents in 2004, and 25 cents in 2005. The new agreement means the starting wage for these union members will be \$9.40 per hour, and will top out at \$12.80 for those with more than four years on the job. These hourly rates will rise to \$9.90 and \$13.30 in the third year of the contract.

Historically, suburban janitors make substantially less money than their fellow workers downtown. The suburban contract includes a 45 cent increase the first year, 40 cents next year, and 40 cents in 2005, slightly narrowing the gap between them—from \$1.05 to \$0.95 for new hires.

Starting wage in the suburbs will now be \$8.45 per hour. The most suburban janitors will earn, however, is \$9.25 per hour, more than \$3 below the downtown rate. Prior to the new contract, the wage gap for the top scale was \$4.50 per hour.

Downtown and suburban janitors will

now have full family dental coverage and reduced-cost prescription cards. Suburban janitors will also get short-term disability and some additional preventative medicine, including free eye exams. Effective Jan. 1, 2004, they get half-day paid holidays on Christmas Eve and New Years’ Eve.

Going into the ratification meeting, one downtown shop steward said she expected a strike, and that picket lines would likely go up at 5 p.m., April 6.

Three years ago, the downtown workers walked out for a day over a contract dispute. In the suburbs, a similar strike lasted 10 days. Suburban janitors, in particular, won modest but important concessions from the building owners for the first time, such as family health coverage at the end of the first year of the contract.

After the April 6 union meeting, one suburban janitor said she felt the new contract is “cheap.” She pointed to the layoff of seven among 23 coworkers in her building by Equity Office. This company is one of many that say layoffs are the result of a depressed real estate market. The average vacancy rate is 15 percent for downtown Chicago office buildings. The Equity janitor emphasized, however, that the remaining 16 workers in her building now have

tried to end the impromptu speakout, the audience began to chant and protest his action. He closed the meeting and left under police escort. A special city council meeting has now been called for April 28 to further discuss this issue.

Direct Action to Stop the War was the main organizer of the port protest. The group was also the principal sponsor of civil disobedience actions in San Francisco’s financial district at the start of the war. “If the government and war makers won’t stop the war, we’ll shut down those institutions...that make war possible,” it proclaims on its web site. “We will raise the economic, social, and political costs of waging this war, and continue to stop business as usual until the war stops.”

Like other radical groups with a petty-bourgeois outlook, DirectAction’s strategy and tactics flow from disillusionment and pessimism. In an “Open Letter to the People Who Live and Work in San Francisco and the Bay Area,” the group said that “We had tried traditional avenues of influence to stop this war. We lobbied our politicians. We marched in permitted rallies millions strong. We signed petitions, prayed, and held vigils for peace.... Yet these pleas fell on a deaf Administration.”

Its leaders hope that determined, “moral-witness” type action by small groups of committed activists will force the U.S. capitalist class to reconsider imperialist military assaults. Direct Action’s strategy, however, more often than not targets working people. The financial district shutdown only made life miserable for working people on their way to work or school. In its “open letter” the group stated “we are aware that shutting down the San Francisco financial district inconvenienced many people. While we and others may suffer disruptions and lost wages, we ask ‘What is a human life worth being taken in your name?’”

Lack of confidence and cynicism toward the toiling masses runs through the group’s proclamations and practice. In a report on the group’s web site on the police attack, one Direct Action activist wrote, “If the ILWU was willing to come out and stop the shipment of war supplies it would be a great victory...[but] we must not wait for them or expect them to do so. Americans (sic) benefit from this system of imperialism that we are here opposing, and as a group they will not come out and bite the hand that feeds them...it is misleading to tell people that workers in this country are going to stand up against war.”

Richard Jimenez, a truck driver from Chowchilla, was blocked by the protests from delivering his load of almonds at the port. This demonstration “is not going to stop the war. It is stopping us,” he said, in a remark typical of opinions of other working people here. “We don’t carry bombs. We can only throw almonds at Saddam.”

Bill Kalman is a member of UFCW local 120 in San Lorenzo, California.

More than 100,000 U.S. workers are laid off in March

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The Department of Labor reported that U.S. companies laid off 108,000 workers in March, following job cuts of 357,000 the month before. Exxon Mobil Corp., Verizon Communications, and Northwest Airlines have recently announced plans for large-scale layoffs.

The toll in job losses was higher than corporate analysts had projected, according to the Associated Press.

The official unemployment rate remained unchanged at 5.8 percent, as nearly a half

million people gave up looking for work last month and so were not included in the government figure on joblessness. Since the fall of 2001, the official unemployment rate has stood at or near 6 percent, which is the highest in 8 years. In addition to those who have given up looking for work entirely, there was a jump of half a million in the number of those who couldn't find a steady job and instead took a part-time position.

Job prospects in manufacturing continued to decline, the government agency reported, with a drop of 36,000 jobs in March.

N. Carolina workers fight to organize union

BY CONNIE ALLEN

HIGH POINT, North Carolina—Union members from throughout North Carolina came to the defense of workers at Thomas Built Buses who are fighting for union recognition. More than 250 supporters rallied March 16 at the Days Inn here. Many of the United Auto Workers (UAW) members participating in the boisterous rally were workers from Freightliner plants in Gastonia and Cleveland, North Carolina, who won union recognition in late January. The UAW is trying to organize workers at this plant.

Thomas Built manufactures buses and is owned by Freightliner, which is a subsidiary of DaimlerChrysler. Freightliner has nine plants in North America. Thomas Built, one of three Freightliner plants that are not unionized, employs 1,600 workers.

The March 16 action was called by the state AFL-CIO and the UAW in response to attacks on the union organizing campaign by the High Point Chamber of Commerce and Piedmont Associated Industries. These bosses' associations made public appeals to keep High Point a "union-free," business-friendly place.

Workers from many unions attended the solidarity rally. Presentations included comments from representatives of the Steelworkers; Machinists; Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE); Farmer Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC); Communication Workers of America; postal workers union; government employees union; United Firefighters Local 947; Sheetmetal workers Local 5; and the tobacco workers.

Several Thomas Built workers expressed appreciation for the big show of support and the ongoing help from the newly-organized UAW workers at Freightliner. A number of these workers said their fight for the union is about respect, about the right to have a voice in their workplace. Two workers have been fired but won their jobs back during

the organizing drive so far.

"It's pitiful, the working conditions," said Jason Schultz, 29, a welder at Thomas Built. "The way we're treated [by the company]. They treat certain people like dogs. They don't give you respect. We work with broken tools. Welding leads with cuts in the line. The roof leaks water. There's water all over where we're welding and they tell us to keep working. The welders wear respirators, but there's very little ventilation in the plant. The fumes from the welding go all through the plant."

The company has agreed to take a "neutral" stance toward the union organizing drive, Schultz said, "but we know the company is behind the anti-union propaganda appearing in the plant. In the past, almost no supervisors ate in the lunch room. Now two supervisors are always in there when we're in there. But we still discuss the union. When our coworkers who are against the union raise something, we answer them and if we don't know, we tell them, and then we call the union and find



Militant/Laura Gray

Corporate cutbacks have resulted in the loss of 2.5 million jobs in industry since the high point in April 1998.

There were also job losses in the service sector and among government workers. A

small increase in jobs in construction and mortgage banking in March was caused by a rise in the sales and refinancing of houses, the Associated Press report states.

On April 7, Verizon notified members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that it considers 1,000 jobs at the telecommunications giant to be "surplus," blaming a "weak economy" and competition from MCI WorldCom, AT&T, and others. The company announcement follows on the heels of a "surplus declaration" last year that cost more than 400 workers their jobs. Meanwhile, Verizon in New York claims a backlog for fast Internet and other services to justify long delays in filling orders.

While Exxon Mobil did not say how many it intends to lay off among the 1,400 workers at its refinery and chemical plant in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Northwest Airlines announced plans to cut 4,900 jobs. The Minnesota-based carrier, shortly after notifying the work force that more than 10 percent would be out of a job, gave \$2.5 million in bonuses and stock options on top of \$500,000 salaries to its two chief executives.

Meanwhile, American Airlines, the world's largest airline, is using the threat of bankruptcy and the loss of jobs as a lever to press for cuts in wages and benefits from its employees. Ramp workers, mechanics, flight attendants, and pilots are voting on company demands for \$1.6 billion in concessions. United Airlines and other companies have used bankruptcy for similar ends.

NY cops open files on antiwar protesters

BY PAUL PEDERSON

New York cops conducted systematic interrogations of protesters arrested at antiwar demonstrations over the past two months and recorded the information they gathered in a database.

People arrested for minor offenses like "blocking the sidewalk" were held in police custody for several hours and questioned by members of the New York Police Department's (NYPD) Intelligence Division about political organizations they belonged to, the position they held in these groups, which demonstrations they had attended in the past, and where they went to school.

The form used in the questioning, called the "Criminal Intelligence Division/Demonstration Debriefing Form," also included a space for the demonstrator's passport or "Alien Registration" number.

During questioning, the police refused to allow protesters to see legal counsel and threatened to extend the detention if the inmates did not cooperate.

On April 9, after the New York Civil Liberties Union obtained a copy of the interrogation form and lodged a complaint with the police commissioner, the city cops announced they would end the practice.

"After review the department has decided to eliminate the use of the Demonstration Debriefing Form," said Michael O'Looney, an NYPD spokesman. "Arrestees will no longer be asked questions pertaining to prior demonstration history, or school name. All information gathered since the form's inception on February 15 has been destroyed."

Top police officials, however, defended the political interrogations. New York City police commissioner Raymond Kelly, while denying he knew anything about the prac-

tice, called it "a good-faith effort to help us determine what resources are needed to police certain demonstrations in the future."

To aid in policing future protests, O'Looney said the police will continue to ask arrested protesters about the groups they are affiliated with, and keep the information in the form of a "tally," supposedly unconnected to any individual's name.

"I don't think there are constitutional issues here," Kelly said. "We believe it was a legitimate question with no compulsion to answer."

The police commissioner said he asked that the information be destroyed because it was not needed, and it raised some "questions and concerns." He assured the press that no further such questionnaires would be drafted without the approval of the NYPD's recently appointed deputy commissioner of intelligence, David Cohen.

Cohen, a 35-year veteran of the CIA, was appointed to this post when it was created in January 2002. He rose to a position in the upper echelons of the spy agency before taking on the job of heading up the New York cops' political spying operations.

Atlanta auto workers gain in strike

BY BOB BRAXTON AND JIMMY HILL

ATLANTA—A surprise walkout March 25–26 by members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at Ford's Parts Distribution Center in McDonough, Georgia, resulted in gains for the union. The strikers were drivers and dock workers employed by Exel, a subcontractor with offices in the plant. As a result of Ford's reorganization of its parts distribution centers (PDC), 70 of Exel's 96 UAW members in Atlanta are being laid off. Exel offered the laid-off workers one and a half days of severance pay per year of service. The workers demanded an improved severance agreement, transfer rights to other Exel facilities, and union recognition at Ford's new Florida parts distribution center.

Exel was convinced its employees would refuse to stop work. Ford management was also convinced that the 300 other workers in the plant—also members of UAW Local 882—would ignore the picket line set up by workers at Exel. The hopes of both companies were dashed when Ford workers reporting for the 10:30 am shift March 25 did not begin work, and more Exel workers

joined the picket line. The Ford bosses closed the plant early in the afternoon. The factory remained shut the next day, as Ford workers honored the Exel picket lines.

With the cost of lost business mounting every hour, the walkout continued. Then Ford and Exel blinked: the day after the strike began, Exel caved in to the union's demands. Laid off workers will now receive some 10 days severance pay per year of service, not the one and a half the company originally offered. They will also be placed on a preferential hiring list at other Exel facilities. It is reported that a majority of Exel workers have now signed union cards at the new Florida facility.

The sentiment among workers who went through this struggle is that they would never have been able to accomplish so much without the union. The strike was the first ever by the newly organized Exel workers, and the first at the Atlanta parts distribution center in well over a decade.

Bob Braxton works at the Ford PDC warehouse in Atlanta and is a member of UAW Local 882. Jimmy Hill is a UAW Local 882 union steward at Exel.

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Cuban revolution confronts imperialism

Printed below is an excerpt from *The Second Declaration of Havana*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for April. The Second Declaration was approved by acclamation after it was read by Cuban president Fidel Castro to a rally of one million people in Havana in February 1962. This historic document was a call by the workers and farmers of Cuba for an uncompromising continent-wide revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism. It came in direct response to a sharp escalation in attacks against the revolution by the ruling families in the United States and the government in Washington. The pamphlet also

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

includes the First Declaration of Havana, issued Sept. 2, 1960. Copyright © 1994 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

The history of Cuba is but the history of Latin America. The history of Latin America is but the history of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. And the history of all these peoples is but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world. The history of Latin America is the history of imperialist exploitation

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century a handful of economically developed nations had finished partitioning the world among themselves,

subjecting to their economic and political domination two-thirds of humanity, which was thus forced to work for the ruling classes of the economically advanced capitalist countries.

The historical circumstances that permitted a high level of industrial development to certain European countries and the United States of America placed them in a position to subject the rest of the world to their domination and exploitation.

What were the compelling motives behind the expansion of the industrial powers? Were they for reasons of morality and civilizing, as they claim? No, the reasons were economic.

From the discovery of America, which hurled the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and exploit the lands and inhabitants of other continents, the fundamental motive for their conduct was the desire for riches. The discovery of America itself was carried out in search of shorter routes to the Orient, whose goods were highly paid for in Europe.

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of manufactured articles for commerce, arose from the womb of the feudal society of lords and serfs in the decline of the Middle Ages.

The thirst for gold was the cause that spurred the efforts of that new class. The desire for gain has been the incentive of its conduct throughout history. With the growth of manufacturing and commerce, its social influence also grew. The new productive forces that were developing in the womb of feudal society clashed more and more with feudalism's relations of servitude, its laws, its institutions, its philosophy, its morality, its art, and its political ideology.

New philosophical and political ideas, new concepts of right and of the state were proclaimed by the intellectual representatives of the bourgeois class, which—because they responded to the new necessities of social life—gradually entered into the consciousness of the exploited masses. These were then revolutionary ideas opposed to the outworn ideas of feudal society. The peasants, the artisans, the workers in manufacture, led by the bourgeoisie, overthrew the feudal order, its philosophy, its ideas, its institutions, its laws, and the privileges of the ruling class, that is,



Bohemia

Cuban president Fidel Castro read Second Declaration of Havana to above rally in Havana, February 1962. The one-million strong crowd approved the document by acclamation. Many more working people signed it in weeks that followed.

the hereditary nobility. At that time the bourgeoisie considered revolution necessary and just. It did not think that the feudal order could and should be eternal—as it now thinks of its capitalist social order.

It encouraged the peasants to free themselves from feudal servitude; it encouraged the artisans against the medieval guilds and demanded the right to political power. The absolute monarchs, the nobility, and the high clergy stubbornly defended their class privileges, proclaiming the divine right of kings and the immutability of the social order. To be liberal, to proclaim the ideas of Voltaire, Diderot, or Jean-Jacques Rousseau, spokesmen for bourgeois philosophy, at that time constituted, in the eyes of the ruling classes, as serious a crime as it is today in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to

be a socialist and to proclaim the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The bourgeoisie took political power and established upon the ruins of feudal society its capitalist mode of production; and on the basis of this mode of production it erected its state, its laws, its ideas, and its institutions. Those institutions sanctified above all the essence of its class rule: private property.

The new society based on the private ownership of the means of production and free competition was thus divided into two basic classes: one the owner of the means of production, ever more modern and efficient; the other, deprived of all wealth, possessing only its labor power, of necessity sold on the market as just another commodity simply in order to live.

April

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Golly—A new law in the state of Washington provides that members of the military living off base there can no longer be penalized



Harry Ring

for breaking their leases when summoned for active duty.

Read it and retch—“You are part of the finest military establishment the world has ever known, and I am completely confident that the war to end the tyrannical re-

gime of Saddam Hussein, to destroy his weapons of mass destruction, and most importantly, to liberate the long-suffering people of Iraq, will be successful, and that you will soon be reunited with your families.

“Once hostilities have ended, however, significant challenges will remain. America must take the lead in rebuilding Iraq, and here, too, you will play a vital role. You will also be engaged in fighting the war on terror, at home and abroad.” Senator Dianne Feinstein, veteran liberal Democrat from California, in an e-mail letter to GIs in Iraq shortly before the fall of Baghdad.

Yes, indeed—A shopper in a suburban Albany, New York, area was busted for refusing to take off

a propeace t-shirt at a mall coffee table. Later, about one hundred people protested this. The local chief of police explained the arrest: “We don’t care what they have on their shirts, but they were asked to leave the property, and it’s private property.”

Nothing but the best—Members of the Puerto Rican island legislature are lobbying for a new veterans hospital, explaining the present one is unable to handle an influx of Iraqi vets. According to a media report, they said the old hospital is too small, has numerous infrastructure problems, and a leaky roof.

The real chickens go to the front?—“LONDON—A food

fraud worth millions involving chicken padded out with water, pork, or beef and sold in takeaways, restaurants, pubs...have been uncovered by the Food Standards Agency.”—The Times, London.

What price imperialism—At least 60 percent of once relatively prosperous Argentinians now live in poverty, and 19 children have died of malnutrition in recent months. The International Monetary Fund, however, declared the government “was not imposing sufficient austerity” and cut off its credit line.

Not if your feet’ too big—At first glance it struck us as an ordinary deal. Close to San Diego, a top income community, many bed-

rooms with fireplace, walk-in shower, fridge, etc. The master bedroom, (named after Imelda Marcos?), features a closet that is said to stock 300 pairs of shoes. Asking price: \$24 million.

Pst—One might think it an embarrassing moment, but the Vatican has published a new, 1,000-page lexicon of sexual terms, baring some seemingly innocuous, but really “anti-Catholic” terms such as “gender” and “reproductive rights.” It does thump homosexuality as abnormal, and advises that countries that permit same-sex marriages have people with “disordered minds.” No mention, apparently, of the products of imposed celibacy—straight or gay.

Washington adds restrictions on travel to Cuba

BY PAUL PEDERSON

The U.S. Treasury Department announced March 24 that it will now enforce new restrictions on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens and residents.

According to the new regulations, licenses will no longer be issued to “organizations that sponsor people-to-people educational exchanges to take individuals under their auspices on educational trips to Cuba unrelated to academic course work.” Next to family visits by Cuban-Americans, the largest number of U.S. residents who legally travel to Cuba each year do so under this type of license.

“This is an outrageous situation,” said Bob Guild of Marazul Tours in an April 3 interview. Marazul is a travel agency that specializes in travel between the United States and Cuba. “This is the first serious rollback by the government of the licensing guidelines in 10 or 12 years. These are trips organized by educational institutions, museums, and groups with a long and established record of educational work.”

Thousands of people travel each year to Cuba under license from the government. Tens of thousands more visit the island annually without seeking a government license.

A Treasury Department document, titled, “Cuba: What You Need to Know About the U.S. Embargo,” was released the same day the new restrictions were announced. It states that restrictions on travel to and trade with Cuba “affect all U.S. citizens and permanent residents wherever they are located, all people and organizations physically in the United States, and all branches and sub-



Militant/Martin Koppel

Participants in the second Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange held in Havana July 2001

sidiaries of U.S. organizations throughout the world...”

“The basic goal of the sanctions,” the document reads, “is to isolate the Cuban government economically and deprive it of U.S. dollars. Criminal penalties for violating the sanctions include up to 10 years in prison, \$1,000,000 in corporate fines, and \$250,000 in individual fines. Civil penalties up to \$55,000 per violation may also be imposed.”

An article in the April 6 *San Francisco Chronicle* on the new restrictions said that “Those licenses, which were authorized on a case-by-case basis, ended up becom-

ing a loophole for groups to travel to Cuba when the educational aspect was barely evident, Treasury Department spokesman Tony Fratto told the Associated Press. Salsa dancing, baseball, and hiking tours were among those granted permits.

“The Treasury Department said it would honor existing one-year licenses but would not renew them. The new regulations are temporary but are expected to go into effect in May after a comment period.”

San Francisco-based Global Exchange, which sent more than 2,000 U.S. residents to Cuba last year on licensed trips, is considering filing a lawsuit to try to block the

new regulations, according to the group’s Cuba program director, Ana Perez. Global Exchange and other groups plan to continue offering licensed trips to Cuba until their permits expire at the end of this year.

Over the past decade, the Treasury Department has enforced travel restrictions with increasing aggressiveness, seeking fines of between \$2,000 and \$7,500 against those who are deemed to have traveled to Cuba “illegally.” The number of cases opened by the Treasury Department against such individuals has dramatically increased—from 165 in 1996 to 1,155 in the first six months of 2001.

Richard Newcomb, director of the Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control, complained in a February 2002 report to the U.S. Senate that the increased crackdown on travel to Cuba has caused an “extremely heavy drain on finite enforcement and legal resources.”

“At this time,” Newcomb stated, “OFAC devotes 5% of its budget...to the administration and enforcement of restrictions involving travel to Cuba.”

Guild, of Marazul Tours, said that since Newcomb’s 2002 report the enforcement of the travel restrictions has continued at a similar rate. Last year, about 100 people who traveled to Cuba agreed to pay \$1,000 each.

While thousands who refuse to bow to government bullying often avoid the fines, many others don’t, in the face of threats from the Treasury Department. Newcomb bragged in his 2002 report that many “agree to informal settlements” faced with government intimidation.

‘Tricontinental’ magazine marks 150th anniversary of José Martí

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A new issue of *Tricontinental*, a magazine published by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), has been published and is available in the United States. OSPAAAL is an international anti-imperi-

alist organization based in Havana, Cuba.

Tricontinental issue no. 154 contains several articles commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Cuban revolutionary fighter José Martí. These include “José Martí, Latin American Patriot” by Armando Hart, who is a founding member of the July 26 Movement, and served as minister of culture for 20 years until 1997, and “Our America,” written by Martí in 1891.

The issue includes articles on the fight against the Free Trade Area of the Americas pact; the experience of a Cuban doctor who volunteered as an internationalist fighter in Guinea Bissau to fight for the liberation of that country from Portuguese colonial rule in the mid-1960s; and a letter by René González Schwerert describing the impact that Che Guevara’s example has had on his life. González is one of the five Cuban revolutionaries imprisoned in the United States on frame-up conspiracy charges.

There is also an article by Ulises Estrada, the director of Tricontinental Editions, announcing for the first time ever the identity of “Mercy”—the Cuban agent who worked under Che Guevara in Bolivia and who is referred to by Che in his *Bolivian Diary*.

Tricontinental, which has a cover price of \$5, is stocked by Pathfinder bookstores (see page 12).

The magazine can also be ordered through www.pathfinderpress.com.

CUBA in world politics today

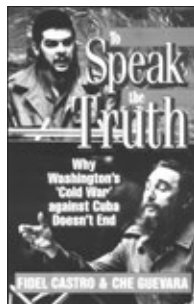


October 1962 The ‘Missile’ Crisis as Seen from Cuba

By Tomás Diez Acosta In October 1962, during what is widely known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, Washington pushed the world to the edge of nuclear war. Here, for the first time, the full story of that historic moment is told from the perspective of the Cuban people. Also available in Spanish. \$24

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution

By Jack Barnes “There will be a victorious revolution in the United States before there will be a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba”—Fidel Castro, 1961. This book about the class struggle in the imperialist heartland explains why this statement remains as accurate today as it was in 1961. Also available in French and Spanish. \$20



To Speak the Truth

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara In speeches before the United Nations and UN bodies, Guevara and Castro address the workers of the world explaining why the U.S. government so hates the example set by the socialist revolution in Cuba and why Washington’s efforts to destroy it will fail. \$16.95

Order now from www.pathfinderpress.com. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling. Also available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

Available from Pathfinder Press

Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange July 24-July 31

Groups of young people from across the United States will be traveling to Cuba in July to participate in the Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange. They will meet with youth in that country, exchange ideas with them, and see firsthand the truth about Cuba’s socialist revolution.

To find out more, contact:
youthexchange2003@yahoo.com

Imperialist troops out of Iraq!

Continued from front page

is Washington's charge that Damascus has chemical weapons—one of the propaganda themes for justifying the U.S.-British invasion of Iraq.

The targeting of Syria underscores the fact that the U.S.-led war on Iraq is not about freedom or democracy—or even about Iraq alone. It is about which of the competing imperialist powers in the world will control the resources and territory of the Mideast. What is fueling this war drive is not the policy of a particular U.S. president (in fact, it is a bipartisan group in Congress that has introduced a bill to decree sanctions on Syria). Behind imperialism's march toward war is something much more fundamental: the inherent weaknesses of the capitalist economic system, now mired in a prolonged depression, that increasingly drive Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, and other imperialist powers to fight to divide and redivide the world among themselves.

In recent years the government of Syria has taken a more conciliatory stance toward Washington. But the U.S. rulers don't consider the Baathist regime there sufficiently beholden to their interests. Damascus aligned itself with Paris, Berlin, and Moscow in the prewar UN debate over Iraq. Emboldened by its success in Iraq, the U.S. government is now pressing further against Syria.

These threats against Syria are also directed against Iran, which is on the imperialists' "axis of evil" hit list. In the context of the Anglo-American war in the Mideast, the recent U.S. threats against north Korea and Cuba take on more seriousness, too.

Similarly, the deadly shooting by U.S. troops on a crowd of protesters in Mosul shows the true face of the

occupiers. The purpose of the new occupation regime is not the "liberation" of the Iraqi people, any more than the British invasion of Baghdad was in 1917. A top priority for the U.S. overseers of Iraq is getting the oil wells running again and laying the basis for putting them under the control of ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, and other U.S. companies—at the expense of TotalFinaElf and other European capitalist interests.

The goal of the occupation is also to hold Iraq together under a capitalist regime that can guarantee stability for imperialist interests in the Mideast. That means putting a lid on the struggles of the Kurds, the Shiite Muslims, and other oppressed peoples. The last thing Washington or London wants is for the Kurdish people to win their right to national self-determination—in Iraq, Turkey, or anywhere else.

Despite the patriotic, prowar campaign to justify the imperialist assault on Iraq, many working people and youth are closely following the events in the world and are receptive to a working-class explanation of them. That is especially true of workers engaged in struggles against employer attacks on their wages, jobs, and conditions. There are no limits to the ability to campaign widely to present these facts and communist perspective on the job, at factory gates, on picket lines, in working-class communities, at antiwar and other political demonstrations, on campuses, and among workers and farmers in uniform.

We urge you to join other *Militant* supporters in a working-class campaign to demand: *No to the occupation of Iraq! Imperialist forces out of the Mideast! Bring the troops home now! Stop the U.S. threats against Syria!*

25,000 at April 12 D.C. peace rally

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Thousands marched and rallied here over the April 12 weekend against the U.S.-led conquest of Iraq. Protests also took place in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and dozens of cities around the world.

"There are fewer young people here than last month," noted Elizabeth Harris, 20, who had driven from Pittsburgh with several friends. A number of participants remarked that far fewer buses came from their cities for this rally compared to earlier protests.

"The whole world is against this war but this administration just ignores us," said Robert Long, 55, from New Haven, Connecticut. Such comments marked the views and mood of many participants in the protest.

As in past demonstrations, signs and banners predominated throughout the rally focusing on the administration of U.S. president George Bush. Some read "Regime change in 2004!" and "Drop Bush not bombs!" Leaders of International ANSWER, the coalition that organized the rally, led the crowd in chanting, "Stop the occupation! Impeach Bush!"

One group had printed placards with a yellow ribbon

tied around a peace symbol. It read: "Support our troops! Bring them home now!"

Coming in the wake of the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq, the peace protests in every city were substantially smaller than earlier ones. Organizers of the protest here claimed 25,000 participants.

Just days before the march took place, protest leaders moved the assembly and rally point from the more spacious Washington Monument grounds to the two-square block Freedom Plaza.

The ANSWER web site listed only a handful of endorsers, and former attorney general Ramsey Clark was the only prominent political figure who spoke at the rally. He urged those present to make the "impeachment of president Bush" the top priority for opponents of the U.S.-led war.

About 2,500 people marched in a heavy rain in San Francisco, and 4,000 in Los Angeles, the same day. Some carried signs urging UN "peacekeepers" to occupy Iraq, instead of U.S. troops, while others urged voter registration. Some preprinted signs that read "Stop the War against Iraq" had Iraq crossed out and replaced with Syria.

Veteran socialist Peggy Brundy

Continued from Page 8 toward her socialist politics."

Norton Sandler, a SWP National Committee member, chaired the San Francisco gathering. He interspersed the presentations with excerpts from greetings sent to the meeting by some of Brundy's collaborators. The messages included one from Michel Prairie on behalf of the Political Committee of the Communist League in Canada, and another from Pathfinder's Farsi-language editor, Ma'mud Shirvani.

Sandler noted that delegates to the SWP 1976 convention elected Brundy to the party's National Committee. She served on that body until 1985. She was circulation director for the *Militant* in 1983-84. Her sales columns in the paper helped organize the international subscription campaigns and the weekly plant gate sales. She also attended a six-month session of the SWP leadership school, where worker-bolsheviks studied the writings of the founders of the communist movement—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Brundy suffered from severe rheumatoid arthritis that had an impact on her ability to work industrial jobs. Waters said that Brundy was also deeply affected by the retreat of the working class in the 1980s and withdrew from political activity for a decade. She began responding to the increased resistance from working people in the 1990s and resumed activity with the party. In doing so, Waters stated, Brundy drew again on the solid political grounding she had acquired earlier.

Pathfinder Printing Project

The Pathfinder Reprint Project was launched in 1998. In this effort supporters of the SWP and Communist Leagues around the world took on the job of converting Pathfinder's titles, which existed on outmoded film and printing plates, to modern digital technology. This volunteer effort has now been renamed the Pathfinder Print-

ing Project. It includes some 250 supporters of the communist movement around the world.

Laurel Kelly, a steering committee member of this project, spoke about Brundy's contribution to this effort. "It might sound like being a supporter of the SWP is like being a fan or cheerleader, taking a role on the sidelines and not being an active participant. But many of us had a different idea. We were hungry for a way to make a meaningful contribution to change society. The Pathfinder Printing Project began as a proposal by party supporters to help keep Pathfinder books in print by making high quality digital copies of all titles using the latest and less expensive printing technology. Now the project has expanded to include the preparation of new titles, the sales and distribution of the books, maintaining the *pathfinderpress.com* web site, overseeing quality control, scheduling, and working with printers directly. In five years, 320 titles have been converted to digital form out of nearly 400."

Brundy joined the steering committee of the project shortly after it began. Waters explained how Brundy loved the analogy that SWP leader Joe Hansen often used to describe centralized revolutionary activity. "Joe always used to say every revolutionary is like a good plow horse that likes getting the harness on because it makes you more capable of work and accomplishing what you are trying to accomplish," Waters said. "It was getting back into this political harness and to once again have an organized political life, along with Peggy's consciousness of how important this work was, that gave her a very great sense of satisfaction in the final five years of her life."

Participants brought a fine assortment of food to the gathering. Many stayed for an hour afterward to look at the displays and to socialize. They also contributed \$2,190 to a Peggy Brundy Party Building Collection that will go towards supporting the activities of the SWP.

Revolutionary defeatism and the Iraq war

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

In letters to the editor this week, several readers comment on the *Militant's* recent coverage of the U.S.-led assault and occupation of Iraq, and of antiwar protests. Carol Sholin asks that the *Militant* "run one or more articles on why Marxists call for the defeat of 'their own' imperialism in a war, and why working people should not consider a military victory for Washington in Iraq something that will bring safety to the troops."

To respond to Sholin's question, in a war between an imperialist power and a nation oppressed by imperialism, class-conscious workers always side with the oppressed nation—regardless of its political regime—and argue that the defeat of the imperialists in the war is in the interests of working people everywhere, including those living in the imperialist country. That's the posi-

REPLY TO A READER

tion taken by the Bolshevik party under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, which led workers and farmers to power in Russia in October 1917.

Writing in 1938, on the eve of World War II, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky summarized this position in an article titled "Lenin and imperialist war." He explained:

"From 1871 to 1914 European capitalism, on the foundation of national states, not only flowered but outlived itself by becoming transformed into monopoly or imperialist capitalism. 'Imperialism is that stage of capitalism when the latter, after fulfilling everything in its power, begins to decline.' The cause of the decline lies in this, that the productive forces are fettered by the framework of private property as well as by the boundaries of the national state. Imperialism seeks to divide and redivide the world. In place of national wars there come imperialist wars. They are utterly reactionary in character and are an expression of the impasse, stagnation, and decay of monopoly capital."

'Socialists completely on side of oppressed country'

"The world, however, still remains very heterogeneous," Trotsky continued. "The coercive imperialism of advanced nations is able to exist only because backward nations, oppressed nationalities, colonial and semicolonial countries, remain on our planet. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side, this prepares more favorable conditions for their own development, while, on the other side, this deals blows to imperialism. That, in particular, is the reason why, in the struggle between a civilized, imperialist, democratic republic and a backward, barbaric monarchy in a colonial country, the socialists are completely on the side of the oppressed country notwithstanding its monarchy and against the oppressor country notwithstanding its 'democracy.'"

For that reason, socialists supported a victory for Argentina during the 1982 Malvinas war—even though a U.S.-backed military dictatorship ruled the country at the time—when British imperialism launched the Royal Navy against Buenos Aires to put the "Falkland Islands" firmly back under London's colonial rule. Likewise, the *Militant* supported a military victory by Baghdad over the imperialist invaders in the just-concluded war, pointing out that such a victory would have strengthened the hand of working people around the world, including the struggles of the Iraqi people against the police-party state run by the regime of Saddam Hussein.

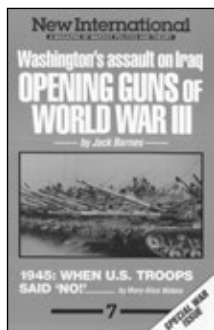
The U.S.-British victory in Iraq and occupation of the country by imperialist troops is a blow to working people. That's why the statement made in the front-page editorial in last week's *Militant*, "The unfolding occupation of Iraq is not a major defeat for the working class. That defeat came a long time ago... in the bloody counter-revolution that brought Saddam Hussein to power," is wrong. It contradicts the editorial stance of the paper outlined above, which is based on long-held positions of the communist movement.

Washington's conquest of Iraq is one in a number of defeats the Iraqi working class has suffered over the past four decades. Among the most devastating of these blows was the coming to power and consolidation of Saddam Hussein's regime in the 1970s.

The end of the armed conflict in Iraq will bring a larger measure of "safety to the troops"—the U.S. troops, that is—at least in the short run. The safety of those armed forces, however, is not the starting point for socialists in face of an imperialist assault on a semicolonial nation. They are not "our troops." They are the troops of the imperialist ruling class, which uses its armed forces to police its frontiers, defend its currency, and wage predatory wars to expand its domination over other peoples and their resources. Like all imperialist wars, the U.S.-led assault on Iraq is against the interests of working people both in Iraq and the United States, including workers and farmers in uniform, who are being used as

Continued on Page 15

Books for the working-class campaign against imperialism and war



Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq

in *New International* no. 7

By Jack Barnes

The devastation of Iraq in the 1990-91 Gulf War did not lead to the dawn of a new world order. The war held a mirror to the declining capitalist world order and accelerated its contradictions. It sounded the opening guns of sharpening conflicts and class battles that will decide whether the horrors of World War III are inflicted on humanity or a road is opened by working people to a socialist future of international human solidarity. Also available in Spanish, French, Swedish.

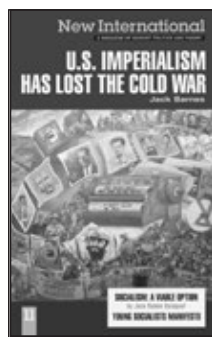
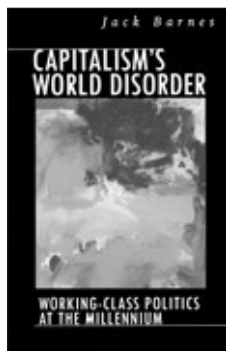
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Capitalism's World Disorder *Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*

By Jack Barnes

Today's spreading economic and social crisis and acts of imperialist aggression are not the product of something gone wrong, Barnes explains, but the lawful workings of capitalism. Yet the future can be changed by the united struggle and selfless action of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. Also available in French and Spanish.

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U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War

in *New International* no. 11

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The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today

by Mary-Alice Waters

Socialism: A viable Option by José Ramón Balaguer

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Reply to readers: Revolutionary defeatism and Iraq war

Continued from Page 14
cannon fodder by the rulers.

We welcome the suggestion in Mindy Brudno's letter for a fuller explanation of how American patriotism is used to boost support for Washington's foreign and domestic policy. To politically disarm workers, the bosses want working people to think in terms of "we Americans," to accept the false idea that workers and the employers who exploit us have common interests, and the lie that the bosses' government is "our" government. Trotsky took this up in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, also written on

the eve of the second worldwide imperialist slaughter. He pointed out that the imperialist rulers use terms such as "collective security," and "national defense" to justify their drive toward war. "'Defense of the Fatherland?'"—Trotsky asked. "But by this abstraction, the bourgeoisie understands the defense of its profits and plunder. We stand ready to defend the fatherland from foreign capitalists, if we first bind our own capitalists hand and foot and hinder them from attacking foreign fatherlands; if the workers and the farmers of our country become its real masters; if the wealth of the country is trans-

ferred from the hands of a tiny minority to the hands of the people; if the army becomes a weapon of the exploited instead of the exploiters."

This is the course the *Militant* has argued for, including among the thousands of students and others who have taken part in numerous antiwar rallies over the last two months in the United States and other countries.

Objective shifts, not red-baiting

The *Militant* urged participation in the large peace rallies in March, as well as the April 12 antiwar demonstrations in Washington,

D.C., and elsewhere, advocating slogans such as "End the imperialist assault on Iraq," and "Bring the troops home now." The April 12 action was smaller than previous ones, not because of red-baiting, as the letter by John Harris suggests, but because of the objective situation. With the rapid U.S.-British military victory in Iraq, we've seen an increase in the patriotic campaign in all the imperialist countries, including sizable pro war actions, and the caving in by liberal pacifists and most in the middle-class left who have called for "supporting our troops." The coalition that called the April 12

rally, and the action itself, were narrower for these reasons.

The Workers World Party, cited in the news article, is the initiator and main organization leading the ANSWER coalition. Its orientation "against Bush"—shared by its most prominent bourgeois ally, Ramsey Clark—and its argument that large demonstrations of this kind, by themselves, can "stop the war" have helped mislead the youth who turn out at these actions. What's needed is not an "anti-Bush" perspective, but a proletarian perspective that orients youth and working people to struggle against imperialism and its wars.

— LETTERS —

Patriotism

The article by Róger Calero in the April 14 issue entitled "U.S. peace coalitions support 'our troops'" contained much useful information about how the forces that organized the big peace actions have responded to the beginning of the actual war.

I think an opportunity was missed, however, to explain clearly the problem with that approach. The article assumes that readers of the *Militant* understand why patriotism is a bad thing for the antiwar movement and for the working class.

To a new reader, the article might appear to be sectarian nit-picking, when in fact fundamental principles are at stake that need to be explained.

Mindy Brudno
Wynantskill, New York

Smacks of red-baiting

An antiwar movement has grown out of the imperialist war drive and assault on Iraq, and is alive and well, and exists in the U.S. and in many countries throughout the world. The lies of the capitalist media are being challenged, and the debate currently is not being framed as a dispute among various capitalist politicians, but between the entire U.S. government and "the nay sayers," that is, us, "the protesters" in the antiwar movement. To me that is refreshing.

A national march was called for April 12 demanding, "Stop the War

on Iraq—Bring the Troops Home Now." I had hoped that the *Militant* would have supported this mobilization, but from reading the April 14 issue of the *Militant*, that doesn't appear to be the case. The article entitled: "U.S. peace coalitions support 'our troops'" states: "The ANSWER coalition, which is dominated by the Workers World Party, another Stalinist organization, has called for an April 12 national march on Washington, D.C., under the slogan "Stop the War in Iraq." Demands by this group have become more vague and targeted at President George Bush, rather than Washington, as the demand 'Bring the Troops Home Now!' does, for example."

It is most likely that this march will not fulfill its potential because of the red-baiting and sectarianism that I have seen coming from some of the liberals, as was the case for the March 15 demonstration. However, this article in the *Militant* smacks of the same red-baiting and sectarianism that I have heard coming from the liberals. It is one thing to attack a Stalinist party and its publication, and it is quite another to smear a coalition. I hope that the editors of the *Militant* will come to see the error in this kind of approach.

John Harris
Boston, Massachusetts

Defeatism

Many in the peace movement have gone beyond saying "support

our troops, bring them home" and are now saying that they hope for a speedy "victory" to "end the killing." I think it would be appropriate for the *Militant* to run one or more articles on why Marxists call for the defeat of "their own" imperialism in a war and why working people should not consider a military victory for the U.S. in Iraq something that will bring safety to "the troops."

Carol Sholin
Castro Valley, California

Iran writers on war

Below is a statement signed by 40 writers and intellectuals of Arab nationality in Khuzistan, Iran, issued on March 28. Khuzistan is the oil-rich province that borders Iraq.

One of the signers is a deputy in the current *Majles* (parliament), elected from Ahwaz in Khuzistan. The number one signer is Yousef Azizi Bani-Torof, a well-known writer and journalist.
Ma'mud Shirvani
Hazleton, Pennsylvania

March 28 statement on events in Iraq, issued by 40 writers and others of the Arab nationality in Khuzistan, Iran.

We, Arab writers and intellectuals of Khuzistan, condemn the savage assault against the nation of Iraq and the occupation of their land. We salute the heroic resistance of the Iraqi people and under these difficult conditions we declare our solidarity with them.

We view this assault as a viola-

tion of international legitimacy and a threat to peace in the region and the world. We ask other Iranian intellectuals and writers to adopt an unambiguous position and condemn this dirty colonial war.

We value the sympathy of the Arab people of Khuzistan and other Iranian nationalities with the people of Iraq, and we ask the authorities in the province to make it possible for the Arab masses in Khuzistan to express their anger and their deep feelings in support of their Iraqi neighbors. This can be done in various ways, such as demonstrations and sending various kinds of aid.

'Sleeper cell' trial

The "sleeper cell" trial of the Norman Street 3 began Friday March 28. [These are] frame-up indictments and trials of Yousef Hmimssa, Farouk Ali Haimoud, Ahmad, Hanan, Karim Koubriti, and Abdel-Ilah Elmardoudi. They are U.S. permanent residents from Morocco and Algeria, North Africa.

The [September 2001 arrest] warrant was issued because they were renting at the former address of someone who has since been cleared of all charges and of all suspicion, yet Haimoud, Hanan and Koubriti are under indictment based on their collection of audio music tapes, scribbles in a day planner, and videos of Disneyland and Las Vegas that were found by Federal police in their apartment. Our Moroccan- and Algerian-

American friends are the first victims of government roundups and stigmatizing of citizens and immigrants after September 11.

According to the *Detroit News/Free Press*, old LSG Sky Chef badges were found in Haimoud, Hanan, and Koubriti's apartment when it was raided. These workers, however, worked in the kitchen. Their badges didn't even give them access to the ramp. Yet, suspicion has been cast on them.

The indictment against them accuses them of holding views of *salafiyya*, *takfir*, and *wahabism*, wrongly identified in the indictment, and with no proof that they held such views. The indictment makes no connection between the defendants and these philosophical currents except to say that "salafist tapes"—whatever that means: songs, chants of the Quran?—were found in the apartment.

The political views of the framed-up defendants are no different from the democratic views of workers anywhere, and should not be used to stigmatize them.

Denis Hoppe
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Washington makes progress at UN on its war drive against north Korea

BY SAM MANUEL

As U.S. and British forces solidified their occupation of Iraq, Washington stepped up its campaign to target the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a "nuclear threat" and to gain wider acceptance for imposing new sanctions on north Korea.

At the April 9 meeting of the United Nations Security Council, Washington fell short of obtaining a resolution condemning Pyongyang for developing a nuclear weapons program. The representatives of China and Russia indicated they would oppose such a resolution. The UN body instead expressed its "concern" about the development of nuclear weapons in north Korea.

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations John Negroponte called the council decision "acceptable." At the same time, he reiterated Washington's demand that Pyongyang must not only abandon its "nuclear weapons ambitions" but "accept a reliable verification regime. This would include cooperation, declarations, inspections, and monitoring." Negroponte also issued a warning to north Korea against any "further escalatory steps."

Pyongyang condemned the UN Security Council action. In an earlier statement, the north Korean government had described any decision taken at this session as "a prelude to war." That DPRK foreign ministry statement said that the U.S.-led war against Iraq "shows that to allow disarming through inspection does not help avert war but rather sparks it." The statement continued, "This suggests that even the signing of a nonaggression treaty with the U.S. would not help avert war...."

"Only a tremendous military deterrent force, powerful enough to decisively beat back an attack supported by any ultra-modern weapons, can avert a war and protect the security of the country. This is a lesson drawn from the Iraqi war." Washington stepped up its threats against the DPRK after U.S. officials charged last October that north Korea had carried out a program to extract enriched uranium as part of longer-term nuclear weapons research. Earlier this year, Washington made similar accusations and demands against Tehran, which has been singled out by the Bush administration, along with Iraq and north Korea, as points on "an axis of evil."

In the ensuing controversy, the U.S. government halted shipments of oil to north Korea, an action followed by Tokyo and Seoul. The shipments were part of the 1994

Agreed Framework. Under this accord, the three governments had also promised to assist in the construction of nuclear power reactors in north Korea that could not be used for reprocessing nuclear-weapons-grade plutonium. In exchange, Pyongyang had agreed to freeze its nuclear weapons program.

Lacking oil to meet its power needs, the north Korean government announced last December that it would restart a small reactor at the Yongbyon nuclear power facility. Washington claims that the facility can reprocess enough plutonium to manufacture one nuclear weapon a year. As the UN Security Council met, the CIA released a report claiming that north Korea could produce "two or more nuclear weapons a year." The CIA also asserted that Pyongyang may soon flight test its Taepodong-2 ballistic missile, which would have the capability of striking parts of the United States and could carry a nuclear warhead.

Washington has rebuffed offers by Pyongyang for direct talks and has insisted on "multilateral talks," to enlist Beijing and Moscow's support to apply greater pressure on north Korea to abandon its nuclear program. Negroponte expressed optimism April 9, stating that "Achieving a multilateral solution may take time but efforts can proceed on several tracks."

Two days later Russia's deputy foreign minister, Alexander Losyukov, said that his government would "review" Moscow's opposition to sanctions against north Korea if Pyongyang developed nuclear weapons.

The European Union submitted a resolution to the UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, charging north Korea with human rights violations, including torture and political killings. This was the first time a resolution accusing Pyongyang of human rights violations has been placed before the UN commission in its 57-year history. According to an April 10 Reuters report, Washington is expected to back the resolution and has been lobbying for "tougher" language.

Israeli army kills dozens of Palestinians, shoots at peace activists from U.S., UK



Palestinian youth in Gaza confront an Israeli army bulldozer (above right). In March, Tel Aviv's army carried out almost daily assaults in Gaza, killing 99 Palestinians throughout the occupied territories. The daily bloodletting continued in early April as Israeli helicopter gunships launched missiles on a busy Gaza street, killing five and injuring at least 50. Two activists of the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), supporting the Palestinian struggle, were also shot by Israeli Defense Forces. Thomas Hurndall, 21, from London, was shot and killed April 11 by an Israeli sniper. Brian Avery (above left), from Albuquerque, New Mexico, was shot in the face and seriously injured by a shell fired from an Israeli tank April 5 in Jenin, West Bank. Rachel Corrie, the first ISM member to be killed by Israeli troops, was crushed to death by an IDF bulldozer March 16 near Rafah, Gaza Strip.

The same week, Richard Lawless, a U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense, visited Seoul to discuss the redeployment of nearly half of the 37,000 U.S. troops in south Korea to a location further south of Seoul. Large demonstrations swept the Seoul last fall against the U.S. military presence, after two south Korean youth were killed by a U.S. military vehicle.

This month, widespread street protests were held against Seoul's decision to send nearly 700 medical and engineering troops to help the U.S.-led assault on Iraq.

U.S. government officials say the reason to redeploy the 16,000 troops, now stationed along the border with north Korea,

is that weapons technology developments make those troops more vulnerable to long-range artillery fire if armed conflict with Pyongyang breaks out.

The April 11 *New York Times* ran a column by former CIA director Stansfield Turner titled, "Rebuild Iraq, Disarm North Korea." Turner proposed that Washington move now to push for a Security Council resolution on north Korea, "similar to resolution 1441, which demanded the immediate and unconditional disarmament of Iraq." The former CIA head added that this approach "could also be applied to Iran, Libya, Syria and other states suspected of having these dangerous weapons."

Australian cops attack protests

BY BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia—High school and university students protesting the U.S.-led war on Iraq here March 26 and April 2 were confronted by large mobilizations of cops who assaulted both of the protests. The demonstrations were called by the "Books Not Bombs" coalition. This group also organized an antiwar student strike of some 5,000 March 5. Significant numbers of Arab-Australian students turned out for the protests.

The March 26 action of about 3,000 students was met by a heavy and provocative police presence. Several dozen people, the youngest 10 years old, were arrested. A number were hurt as the cops clashed with students at the Town Hall assembly point and then during the course of a march through the city.

When the protesters marched to Australian prime minister John Howard's offices downtown after a rally at Hyde Park, police blocked off the street, trapping about 600 protesters between two lines of cops for about two hours. The police then cleared the streets outside their lines before letting the trapped demonstrators go.

In a March 27 lead story headlined "Hijacked by hatred," Sydney's *Daily Telegraph* reported Assistant Police Commissioner Richard Adams's claim that "A large group of Middle Eastern males started to engage and incite the police."

"When it turns ugly and they come ready

to fight and injure police," Deputy Police Commissioner David Madden chimed in, "it is no longer an Australian protest."

Eyewitnesses said that the trouble on March 26 started after the cops arrested two Arab youth and pulled the *hajib*, the Muslim headscarf, off a young woman protester. Pashwa Rahim, who figured prominently in the *Telegraph's* front-page photo of the protest, trying to get out of the clutches of the police, responded the following day that he had acted "in self-defense."

When protest organizers announced that they would call another march the following week, the cops responded by stating they would break it up. New South Wales state premier Robert Carr, of the Labor Party, took the lead in red-baiting the protest. He declared that the April 2 march should not go ahead unless organizers could "control the behavior of extremist elements."

Several hundred police were mobilized April 2 to block some 500 hundred students from marching out of the Sydney Town Hall Square. Under these conditions, protest organizers abandoned their plan to march. They called on participants, instead, to join another antiwar mobilization scheduled for April 13 by the "Walk Against War" coalition. This group organized a series of large peace parades here over the last few months. As the April 2 rally broke up, police arrested eight students when a small group continued to protest.

New Zealand nurses go on strike

BY FELICITY COGGAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Seventy members of the Nurses Organisation and the Service and Food Workers Union struck and picketed Glenburn Rest Home and Hospital-Homecare in Auckland April 7. Their strike coincided with other day-long strikes at hospitals in the towns of Thames and Whakatane also run by Glenburn's owners, Harbourside Group Holdings. It followed a previous 24-hour strike and picket March 6.

Harbourside has refused the workers' claim for a two percent pay rise, with an added one percent for some, and an allowance for working weekends, backdated for the 12 months negotiations have been under way, according to Nurses Organisation organizer Jane Kostanich.

The workers, who last won a pay rise after a strike four years ago, point to how low their wages are compared to the high



Militant/Mike Tucker

Striking health-care workers outside Glenburn Rest Home in Auckland, New Zealand, April 7.

fees charged for patients at the hospital. One picketer, a psychiatric nurse with 32 years experience, explained that most workers start at around \$9 per hour (NZ\$1.00=US\$0.55c). Her wage after 12 years at Glenburn has topped out at \$12 an hour.